PUBLIC LIBRARY BOARDS IN POSTWAR ONTARIO

BY
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Occasional Paper

Public Library Boards in Postwar Ontario

By Lorne Bruce and Karen Bruce

Revised and expanded, 2012

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A NOTE ON THE AUTHORS (1988)

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1. INTRODUCTION

Prom the end of the Second World War to the mid-1980s, many changes occurred in Ontario's public libraries. Annual statistics reported dramatic expansion. Improved economic conditions, advances in technology, new buildings, revised legislation, and changing public attitudes reshaped this social agency. Within the library profession, specialized skills and ideas about the management of services also developed rapidly. However, throughout this important transitional period there was a fundamental continuity in the thinking and practice of public library government. Within the library community and at Queen's Park there was a consensus favouring local special purpose bodies because it was generally felt that appointed boards best fulfilled community needs and provided a satisfactory basis for public acceptance of political authority.

There are many compelling arguments in public administration against the multiplication of special purpose bodies at the local level. However, the basic problems often associated with non-elective boards—the lack of coordination with council in terms of finance and planning, fragmented political authority, or public confusion concerning accountability and responsibility in municipalities—have not substantially altered the traditional form of library government in Ontario. When the local government reform program of the late 1960s and early 1970s consolidated many smaller communities into larger municipalities, library boards were not affected significantly. The extent of public trust for the board system of governance may be judged by the fact that between 1970 and 1985 more than a hundred and fifty locally appointed library boards were in existence although there was no library to operate in these communities. At the provincial level, legislation enacted in June 1966 and December 1984 reaffirmed the long-standing support for the concept of library boards. Thus, the essential form of library government continued as a basic component in the diverse political fabric of local government in Ontario. It was the authority, power, and influence of boards that was principally modified.

Surprisingly, there are few studies on local library authorities in Ontario or general analyses of common features relating to local political structure, provincial public policy, administration, or library cooperation. Usually the emphasis has been upon e ach local authority—their organizations, functions, and so on. Although variety is an important ingredient in understanding local government, the focus in this monograph will be upon the general pattern of established convictions and practices shared by appointed library boards. The political aspects of board representation, influence, power, authority, public participation, accountability,

intergovernmental relationships, and professional administration also will be examined. Systematic agreement on these subjects has guided the working relationships by which library services are delivered throughout the province.

In the two decades after publication of the first version of this monograph in 1988, originally Occasional Paper 42 in the Dalhousie University School of Library and Information Studies (now School of Information Management), there have been a number of works and research bearing on library boards. As well, library trustees and boards have engaged in numerous activities that contribute to the life of Ontario's communities and demonstrate continuity with long-established formal and informal concepts concerning the normative behaviour of boards in a group setting. By making modest textual changes to the original work, by inserting references to recent publications, by expanding the second chapter somewhat, and by adding a new chapter to cover subsequent developments after 1985, it is hoped this revised expanded work will be more useful and offer a better perspective on Ontario's system of board governance for public libraries.

2. LIBRARY BOARDS PRIOR TO 1945

Library authorities in Ontario are special purpose bodies, a fact deeply conditioned by history. It is often stated that free library boards came into existence in larger urban centres during the 'Progressive Era' mostly as a response to political corruption and increasing requirements for professionalization in municipal government. However, in fact, the reform trends that removed boards from 'politics' simply strengthened the established form of governance boards had already achieved throughout Ontario and in the United States at a time when responsible and representative local government was created. In this milieu, library boards were more than administrative bodies: they served broader political purposes at the local level. Boards were representative and responsible entities that helped share community power and satisfy the public preference for nonpartisanship. The predecessors of free libraries in Ontario were social and literary groups, mechanics' institutes, library associations, and common school libraries. With a few exceptions, independent school boards or committees of management governed these corporations. The pattern was established first at Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) in 1800; here, a six-member board of management administered the social library.

The Development of Boards before 1882

In the first half of the nineteenth century, local library corporations that needed financial assistance directly petitioned the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, which began granting aid to small groups of directors as early as 1835 at Kingston and in the following year, London.³ James Young, a Liberal member at Queen's Park, best stated the rationale behind legislative support to institutions for mechanics a half-century later in 1880:

"But it is a mistake to suppose that the Institutions were created and legislative grants given for one class of the community alone, and in the interest of these institutions, and even of the mechanical classes themselves, it is of the utmost importance, in consideration of the intelligent and consequently limited constituency in each community from which they draw support, that our

¹ For example, C.R. Tindal and S. Nobes Tindal, *Local Government in Canada*, 2nd ed., (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1984), 34-47.

² Janet Carnochan, "Niagara Library, 1800 to 1900," reprinted in her *History of Niagara (In Part)* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1914), 49.

³ "Petition from the Mechanics' Institution, Kingston," in *Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1835), vol. 1, appendix 57; and "Report of Select Committee on Petition of Richard Murphy and Others" in *Journals* (Toronto, 1836), vol. 3, appendix 119.

Mechanics' Institutes should continue to be open to all classes on terms of perfect equality."⁴

While Young's proclamation about 'perfect equality' was likely an overstatement, in fact, many urban and rural mechanics' institutes sought to broaden their community membership to engage in adult education activities and to establish local community libraries on a voluntary basis in Upper Canada and Ontario.⁵

In 1850, Egerton Ryerson drew up legislation to supply school section and township boards with books and grants to libraries from his Educational Depository in Toronto, a system the Governor General, Lord Elgin, described in 1854 as a "new era" in the colony's educational and intellectual history. By this measure, school boards in townships and sections had charge of local library collections. At about the same time, in 1851, the Province of Canada passed legislation to permit local boards of mechanics' institutes and library associations to vary in size and authorized generous legislative grants for book purchases. In the following year, an 1852 bill, introduced by William Henry Boulton, a representative from Toronto, was unsuccessful. It was premature effort to allow municipalities to establish a free public library "Board of five persons, to be named annually by the Municipal Authorities" in towns and cities at a time when the Province of Canada had already provided generous legislative grants for local library collections in the previous year. The 1851 enabling legislation was clear about governing; it specified:

That the Members of such Corporation, at their Annual Meeting, to be held on such day as may be provided by any By-law of the said Corporation, may choose from among themselves a President, and may appoint (except in so far as it may be otherwise provided in the Declaration or By-laws) a Librarian, Treasurer, Secretary, Lecturer, and such other Officers and servants of the Corporation as they may think necessary, and fix and pay their remuneration; and also a Board of Directors or Trustees of such Corporation, who shall hold office for one year, or such further time as may be hereinafter limited or permitted.⁸

In this period, the modern distinction between 'private' service agencies (e.g. mechanics' institutes) and 'public' governmental institutions (e.g. common school libraries) remained casual.

⁴ "Mechanics' Institutes," *Toronto Globe*, 24 September 1880, 5.

⁵ See Darren Ferry, *Uniting in Measures of Common Good: The Construction of Collective Liberal Identities in Central Canada, 1830-1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2008), 20-94.

⁶ James Bruce Elgin, *Condition and Prospects of Canada in 1854* (Quebec: S. Derbishire & G. Desbarats, 1855), 20. A few township corporations directly administered some of these libraries: see Bruce Curtis, "Littery Merrit', 'Useful Knowledge', and the Organization of Township Libraries in Canada West, 1840-1860," *Ontario History* 78 (1986): 285-311.

⁷ For this abortive effort, see Lorne Bruce, "The Public Libraries Bill, 1852," *ELAN: Ex Libris Association Newsletter* 42 (Fall 2007): 15-18.

⁸ An Act to Provide for the Incorporation and Better Management of Library Associations and Mechanics' Institutes, 1851 [14 & 15 Victoria, Chap. 86].

There were two acceptable ways to develop local services: local government bodies supported by taxes on property, or supplemental provincial funding for philanthropic civic associations that served the entire community. Thus, the pattern of local library corporations—public and private—supported by provincial legislative revenue had appeared by 1851; this dichotomous scheme continued for more than a century until the Ontario Legislature abolished library associations in 1966.

When enthusiasm for Ryerson's centralized scheme of tax-based public library service in schools began to wane after 1860, other officials made new efforts to integrate libraries within the evolving framework of local government. Alexander Morris, a prominent Liberal-Conservative representing the constituency of Lanark, presented a bill in 1866 to authorize the formation of free libraries in communities larger than 5,000 population. ⁹ His short-lived bill was 'long legislation' similar to the British library act which William Ewart had steered through Parliament in 1850. Twenty sections blended the voluntary tradition embodied in 1851 legislative provisions with the new powers of municipal government that had appeared in Ontario in 1849 and Quebec in 1855. His proposed library board of management was composed of nine members: six directly elected by ratepayers at an annual public meeting, and three selected by "those who have made donations to the Corporation." Although his bill was withdrawn before second reading, Morris's effort illustrated the popularity of direct elections for board members, voluntary service, and library promotion to improve individuals and society. ¹¹

In this type of decentralized local government, administration and accountability often rested outside the municipal council. For the founding of free libraries these conditions were very important. Writing in 1881, John G. Bourinot eloquently stated the case for philanthropic aid for libraries:

... but what we want, above all things are public libraries, to which all classes may have free access, in the principal centres of population. The rich men of this country can devote a part of their surplus wealth to no more patriotic purpose than the establishment of such libraries in the places where they live.... ¹²

In the same vein, Rev. W.R.G. Mellen wrote: "Just now, in the City of Toronto, is an opportunity for some rich man to supply an imperious need, and to secure for himself a fragrant memory as enduring as the city. For how pressing is the need here of a free public library, worthy the rapidly

⁹ See Lorne Bruce, "Alexander Morris' Public Library Bill, 1866," *ELAN: Ex Libris Association Newsletter* 44 (Fall 2008): 10-13.

¹⁰ Bill reprinted in J. George Hodgins, ed., *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1907), vol. 19, 207-210.

¹¹ See Lorne D. Bruce, "The Aims of the Public Library Movement in Late Victorian Ontario," in Peter F. McNally, ed., *Readings in Canadian Library History 2* (Ottawa: CLA, 1996), 93-117.

¹² John G. Bourinot, *The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People: An Historical Review* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1881), 122-123.

growing metropolis of this great and wealthy Province!" When Toronto first considered a free library in fall 1881, the Toronto Mayor arranged a meeting at which "liberal offers of subscriptions" were made by some leading citizens. 14

Naturally, civic-minded benefactors, such as John Hallam, who advocated rate-supported libraries in Toronto and later made substantial book donations as well, often expected a voice in management. The simplest solution was to enact provincial legislation for appointments to independent boards. This provision fitted nicely with democratic ideas about decentralized self-government in which local institutions were considered the 'schoolrooms of democracy' where men gained valuable education in the administration of public affairs. In this process, there was also room for non-elective offices where 'men of stature' could direct community progress. Some of the basic propositions for special purpose library boards, repeated many times for many decades, are familiar to us today:

- because appointed boards are relatively insulated from immediate political concerns, library trustees are freer to act in the long-term interests of the entire community and its general values;
- appointed boards are nonsectarian so a better balance can be struck among religious groups in the community because no elective body has a preponderance of library appointments;
- trustees can devote their full energy to a library to insure its prominence and efficient operation, thus relieving councillors of an added duty;
- voluntary public participation on boards is valuable because citizens should share, in a significant way, in the decision-making process of local government;
- trustees, partly selected on the basis of expertise, can better facilitate a working partnership with professionals in expanding library services to a community;
- public accountability is insured by means of legislative provisions regarding the elected appointing bodies that ultimately control the selection process and financing of services;
- appointments to library boards allow more flexibility for representing the varied community characteristics than the electoral process permits.

Of course, these are subjective viewpoints based on principles or values that are not necessarily shared within local communities.

¹³ W.R.G. Mellen, "Wealth and its Uses," *Rose Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review* 2 (1879): 349.

¹⁴ "Free Library Question," *Toronto Globe*, 13 December 1881, 8.

The Free Libraries Act, 1882

Although all these arguments are important, when the Free Libraries Act was proclaimed in 1882 t he primary concern was to accommodate the tradition of voluntary service on independent boards in relation to city, town, and village municipal councils that had developed rapidly after 1849. To insure that the library board would be a responsible and representative body four essential legal provisions were enacted. First, the circulation of a petition and the approval of ratepayers in a municipal plebiscite were necessary before creating a library board by council bylaw; in effect, a board was created by direct expression of popular will. Second, three elective bodies shared appointments to boards: the municipal council and two school boards. This practice safeguarded the domination of the board from sectarian and party interests. Third, appointments were for limited two- or three-year periods on an overlapping arrangement to allow for stability and continuity, an important planning consideration at a time when municipal terms of office were normally one year. Finally, the library board was entitled to levy a modest Public Library Rate—a maximum one-half mill on taxable assessment—and was obligated to submit yearly estimates to council for approval.

The adoption of permissive legislation that specified independent board status for single municipalities seemed to serve the library community in Ontario reasonably well for about half a century in urban communities. ¹⁶ It satisfied the general liberal-democratic belief local government was an educative process, the more pragmatic position that believed the continuance of significant public participation in management was necessary, and the conservative (or elitist) preference for non-elective offices in which prominent persons could exercise social control. In the United States and Great Britain, independent boards of management were also popular: Edward Edward's 1869 publication, *Free Town Libraries*, touted the success of boards and made persuasive arguments on this point. In theory library trustees were nonpartisan representatives of their constituencies at a time when ethnic, religious, and party patronage was a common feature at annual municipal elections in Ontario. This was an attractive position to many good citizens and free library advocates, such as John Taylor, who emphasized, "The scheme of a free library has special claims upon the public on account of its non-sectarian character. Within its walls the Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, may fraternize, and on its shelves their various views will have a place." ¹⁷

¹⁵ Free Libraries Act, 1882, 45 Vic. c. 22 sec. 2, 3, and 8. We first presented this analysis in Going Public: Celebrating the Centennial of the Free Libraries Act, (Toronto: Ontario Library Association, 1982), slide and tape co-ordinated by Nick Stodola.

¹⁶ For a detailed history until the Great Depression consult Lorne Bruce, *Free Books for All: The Public Library Movement in Ontario*, 1850-1930 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 51-250.

¹⁷ John Taylor, *Toronto's Free Library: Facts for the Citizens* (Toronto: s.n., 1881), 1.

Appointments also helped secure a measure of prestige for an educational institution since members had usually achieved a respectable place within their communities. The liberal-minded *Toronto Globe* enthusiastically endorsed this point in an editorial on January 19, 1883: There is no reason to doubt that each of the selecting bodies will do its best to choose the best men, and there appears to be every probability that the Library Board will be distinguished above all other municipal bodies for the literary and commercial talent that will be represented on it. This situation was reinforced when the directors of mechanics' institutes were empowered to transfer their assets and legislative grant to free libraries after 1883; naturally, many directors continued as library trustees. When Guelph created a free library in 1883, the editor of the local newspaper commented: "We think it would be a wise and prudent course...to select as many as practicable from the present Directors of the Mechanics' Institute." ¹⁸

On a day-to-day basis, it was evident library legislation had some failings. The self-styled 'people's daily' published by John Ross Robertson, the *Toronto Evening Telegram*, printed a withering editorial on February 16, 1883 about the selection process for the first Toronto board:

If the citizens of Toronto had known what they know at present the by-law lately submitted for the founding of a free library would have been defeated. No sooner was the poll which decided the matter closed, than the ward politicians, wire-pullers, aldermen and school trustees put their heads together and proceeded to create a political machine for the distribution of party pap to the needy ones. The free library board is to-day as strong a party lever as there is in Ontario.

Robertson did not identify individuals by name, but that was not his point. He was disappointed the selection of library trustees had not escaped the daily realities of Toronto's political life.

Boards in Local Government, 1882-1945

Power vested in the original prototypical board of management was significant: policymaking, building, raising funds, budgeting, and personnel management were all important administrative functions. A system of checks and balances operated to insure that boards could not act arbitrarily. After 1895, the Education Department made inspections on a regular basis to insure boards were operating in accordance with legislative provisions. However, the government was not always satisfied with this operation. In March 1907, Premier James Pliny Whitney complained that small libraries were charging out too many "slushy" novels—fifteen for every "reliable and useful" work. When he suggested that the Education Department might try to remedy conditions, the *Toronto Daily Star* lead editorial on March 9 said he was taking

¹⁸ "Free Library Carried in Guelph," *Guelph Daily Mercury*, Jan. 2, 1883, 2.

¹⁹ For additional information, see Lorne Bruce, "Local Government and Library Boards in Ontario, 1882-1920," in Peter F. McNally, ed., *Readings in Canadian Library History 2* (Ottawa: CLA, 1996), 119-151.

²⁰ Newspaper Hansard report for Ontario Legislature, *Toronto Daily Star*, March 7, 1907: 7

"too narrow a view" and defended public reading tastes. Normally a visit by the Inspector of Libraries was a routine affair, although disagreements were possible. In one major incident, Inspector William O. Carson criticized the Hamilton board (the second largest board in the province) openly in 1920.²¹ When the controversy swelled, the Minister of Education directed W.O. Carson to conduct a thorough investigation and to issue a final report. Carson did not spare the collection, the staff, or the trustees. He concluded the individual board members must focus on outcomes and general direction, not administrative procedures.²² Yet, this type of confrontation seldom occurred because the Department of Education was inclined not to intervene in local affairs on its 'library watch.'²³

Local disputes between councils and boards also arose from time to time. Ultimately, councils could approach the Legislature to enact a bill in specific cases. Both Ottawa and Lindsay adopted this tactic to gain their ends after the turn of the century. When Andrew Carnegie's foundation offered a grant of \$100,000 to Ottawa in March 1901, the city council was not disposed to allow a semi-autonomous board to be in charge. The *Ottawa Evening Journal* concurred by printing an editorial calling boards "a municipal curse in this province" and concluded:

If we are to have a public library board let it be one that the council can control. Make the basis of two or three aldermen, then appoint competent citizens to act with them, but make the appointments terminable at any time by the council, and require the annual estimates of expenditure to be approved by the council before being acted on.²⁵

On this occasion, the Legislature passed an Act to allow Ottawa council to appoint its mayor, eight aldermen, and three citizens to the local board of management on a yearly basis. However, Ottawa's variation was short lived—the act was repealed several years later to allow the library to operate more satisfactorily. Even private citizens could present legal challenges if they were dissatisfied with local arrangements. Here, an individual issued an unsuccessful challenge to the Palmerston board's right use of \$650 it received from the municipal council in order to purchase land for a proposed library building.²⁶ However, in practice the balance between Legislature,

²¹ "Hamilton Library Severely Criticized," *Toronto Globe*, Nov. 22, 1920, 3 and Nov. 24, 1920, 3. For an account based on newspaper clippings, see Hamilton Public Library, *Historical Scrapbook* (Hamilton, 1890-), vol. 2, 92-107.

²² Katharine J. Greenfield, *Hamilton Public Library 1889-1963: A Celebration of Vision and Leadership* (Hamilton: Public Library, 1989), 50-54, recounts this contentious episode.

²³ For Ontario's decentralized library growth see Lorne D. Bruce, "Public Libraries in Ontario, 1882-1920," *Ontario History* 77 (June 1985): 123-49.

²⁴ An Act Respecting the Establishment of the Carnegie Library in the City of Ottawa, 1903, 2 Edw. VII c. 55; and An Act Respecting the Lindsay Public Library, 1904, 3 Edw. VII c. 61.

²⁵ "As to the Library," Ottawa Evening Journal, March 13, 1901, 4.

²⁶ "Hunt v. The Corporation of the Town of Palmerston and the Palmerston Public Library Board," *Ontario Law Reports* (Toronto: Canada Law Book Co., 1903), vol. 5, 76-80.

Education Department, courts, councils, school boards, the public, and library trustees worked as it had been designed, especially in Ontario's cities.

Occasionally, there were substantive challenges or alterations to the original legislative arrangements for financing and board composition. In 1892, Toronto city council approached the Ontario legislature to curtail the financial power of the library when it felt the board had become overly ambitious. The result was an amendment pertaining specifically to cities of 100,000 in population. It reduced the tax levy to one-quarter mill and compelled boards to receive council approval to establish a museum.²⁷ Subsequently, a court decision rebuffed Toronto council's attempt in 1900 to question or reduce capital estimates and current expenditures made by the library board within legal provisions.²⁸ In its report on the decision, a *Toronto Globe* editorial observed, "Had the members of that board been responsible directly to the people, as the Aldermen are, it is a matter for conjecture whether they would have resorted to the courts and incurred the additional expense which such a course involves, even though they may have been within their rights under the law in demanding the full amount of their estimates."29 A few years later, in 1902, Henry Carscallen, the MPP from Hamilton East, introduced a bill proposing that the power of boards in cities of less than 100,000 people to raise tax money for building purposes be restricted. On this occasion, the Education Department intervened to stymie Carscallen's bill by employing the rationale that the majority of boards in the province would be seriously hampered by its passage.³⁰

More than a decade later in 1913, efforts by the Department of Education to reduce council appointments on library boards and to increase the number of public school board positions by including more teachers or principals created a short-lived controversy.³¹ The proposal failed due to strong opposition and a successful lobby for the *status quo* on the part of library trustees and the Ontario Library Association. It was common knowledge that the strong-minded Superintendent of Education, John Seath, preferred to have school boards in charge of public libraries. His presidential address a decade previous at the Ontario Education Association's convention suggested, "One board should control the public libraries as well as the schools. They were all parts of the Provincial system of education." However, when a stubborn delegation met with the Minister of Education to contest proposed legislative amendments to

²⁷ An Act to Amend the Free Libraries Act, 1892, 55 Vic. c. 48.

²⁸ "Toronto Public Library Board v. City of Toronto," *Ontario Practice Reports* (Toronto: R. Carswell, 1899-1901), vol. 19, 329-332.

²⁹ "To Control Purse Strings," *Toronto Globe*, Dec. 17, 1900, 3.

³⁰ For these episodes, see L. Bruce, "Local Government and Library Boards in Ontario, 1882-1920," 131-36.

³¹ Statute Law Amendment Act, 1913, 3-4 Geo. V c. 18 sec. 38.

³² "Convention of Educationists," *Toronto Globe*, April 15, 1903, 14.

enact this viewpoint in spring 1913, members said this action would "destroy the representative nature of the board."³³ Conversely, many teachers supported the controversial amendments. The chief publication for educational practice and theory stood behind the concept, although not necessarily supporting the exact wording.

THE SCHOOL believes that the action taken by the Minister in proposing to give teachers representation on the Library Boards was a step in the right direction, and that it is the duty of the teaching profession to help to safeguard the best educational interests of the public in this matter by giving its support to the principle that is involved.³⁴

After some debate, the legislation was never enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor and it became a dead issue.

After 1900, the success of county library authorities in the United States raised the possibility of structuring library services in rural areas on a broader multijurisdictional basis. Indeed, although contractual arrangements for service between boards were first introduced in 1896, the Ontario Legislature continued to prefer single jurisdictions. Amending legislation that allowed police villages (1898) and townships (1916) to form boards essentially replicated the original model for board government. It was clear some modifications were needed to adjust to conditions in rural Ontario. In police villages, townships, and school sections the usual balance between council and school boards was not easily attained because their authority often did not coincide territorially. It was becoming evident that the promotion of free library service was more difficult because lower educational levels and geographical distances made petition referendums more difficult to carry through successfully. In rural communities, the apolitical nature of boards (an important feature in cities) was less relevant where the heritage of volunteerism continued to manifest itself in the existence of more than two hundred association libraries.

To remedy these conditions the Education Department introduced some innovations in the thoroughly revised 1920 Act.³⁵ An association library could request council to assume its assets and create a free library; no by-law was necessary for transfer in these cases. The size of free boards in townships, police villages, and school sections could be reduced to less than nine members, and councils or school trustees could become the sole appointing bodies. Union libraries were also permitted. As a result, boards in police villages, townships, and school sections began to diverge from the traditional urban prototype developed in the 1880s. However,

³³ "Strong Protest against Library Board Change," *Toronto Daily Star*, April 30, 1913, 18. Also, George Locke, "Recent Legislation Affecting Public Libraries in Ontario," *Ontario Library Association Proceedings* 1914 (Toronto: OLA, 1914), 69-72.

³⁴ "The Teacher and the Public Library," *The School: A Magazine Devoted to Elementary and Secondary Education in Canada* 1, no. 10 (June 1913): 647.

³⁵ The Public Libraries Act, 1920, 10-11 Geo. V c. 69 s. 10, 17-20, 39 (1).

the most notable feature of the 1920 Act was a strengthening of the financial position of boards. Inspector William Carson unveiled an entirely new formula, a maximum per capita Public Library Rate of fifty cents. Generally, legislators were satisfied these modest changes would allow boards to fulfill their program needs, although the Ontario Library Association, at its 1923 convention, went on record that the new per capita rate was inadequate.³⁶

The 1920 Act is regarded as a landmark; yet, by this time, a few troublesome issues had come to the surface. Some commentators on local government, notably Horace Brittain and William Munro, were openly questioning the rationale and need for special purpose bodies; they believed a strong general-purpose council could efficiently administer services such as libraries and parks.³⁷ The usefulness of political checks and balances in municipalities, especially independent boards, was no longer so attractive. Municipal politics had become less factional; the influence of lodges and local bosses was in decline. A greatly expanded electorate had come to accept the municipal council as the primary local authority or to rely upon ratepayer groups to guard their interests rather than 'establishment' bodies, like library boards, that were frequently composed of reappointed members and acted as cliques. An early sign of changing public attitudes took place at Lindsay, in 1903, where labour leaders criticized the board for not being "directly responsible to the people." In response, the board secretary, Edwin A. Hardy, wrote to the editor about the "principle that some part of our governing bodies should be elected and some appointed."38 However, by the outset of the Second World War, the multiplicity of local public agencies, like library boards, concerned commentators who felt that the power of municipal councils ought to be strengthened to prevent fragmentation of authority at local levels and clarify decision-making with respect to tax levies and rates.³⁹

Another potential problem for boards was poor administration. Both Inspectors William O. Carson (1916-1929) and Frederick C. Jennings (1932-36) were quick to point out the deficiencies of trustees. Jennings, in particular, personally traversed Ontario to witness the operation of five hundred libraries (including the Toronto area) over the course of three years, 1932-35. In many cases, partly due to trustee indifference, the 50-cent per capita rate was not attained on an annual basis. In twenty-seven cities, library appropriations exceeded fifty cents in only six places, equaled it in three. The remainder, eighteen, were below the statutory rate.

³⁶ See W.O. Carson, "The Ontario Public Library Rate," *American Library Association Bulletin* 15 (July 1921): 126-28; and *OLA Proceedings*, 1923, 45-46.

³⁷ H.L. Brittain, "The Relation of Outside Boards and Commissions," *Municipal World* 32 (1922): 210; and William Munro, *American Influences on Canadian Government* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1929), 118.

³⁸ See "Labor and the Library," *Lindsay Weekly Post*, February 20, 1903, 6 and *Lindsay Weekly Post*, February 27, 1903, 3.

³⁹ K. Grant Crawford, "The Independence of Municipal Councils in Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 6 (Nov. 1940): 543-554.

Jennings later concluded, "On the other hand, failure to show progress cannot always be attributed to restricted finances; at times it appears to be caused by a rooted objection to disturbing the status quo. The supposition that all library authorities cherish a desire for progress must be qualified."40 He also observed that many boards did not meet monthly despite this statutory requirement (one board had not met since 1922!). A few boards did not maintain minute books and some treasurers did not keep cashbooks. Board practices and policies with regard to personnel were undeveloped for the most part, e.g. because superannuation schedules or salary scales were nonexistent, elderly staff had to continue working, sometimes beyond seventy. Qualified personnel were a particular need to execute plans made by boards. Jennings concluded: "The permanent solution of province-wide library service would appear to be organization by counties, or by regions (including two or more counties or districts)."41 By this time, the consolidation of weak, autonomous libraries into better-financed and directed Associations already had proven its value in Lambton County. The Inspector respectfully added that long-serving 'key' trustees should decline additional executive duties and consider recruiting younger members to administer and invigorate boards with current thoughts about board bylaws and committee work.

After 1920, serious consideration for planning regional based library service for more than one jurisdiction began. Following a twenty-year debate, the formation of county library associations began in Lambton County during the Great Depression. The 1933 national Ridington Commission library report stated their purpose: "the pooling of resources, in funds, in books and in personnel, of these little libraries into a unified regional library system, soundly financed, ably led, competently staffed, and efficiently administered." The Department of Education encouraged establishment of five independent county Associations before 1939 in Lambton, Middlesex, Oxford, Elgin, and Simcoe but it did not pass legislation governing these new library entities. County work often included school libraries, association libraries, free libraries, and other interested groups, such as Women's Institutes. A legal statute for this type of government and operation was difficult to enact because it infringed on local autonomy. A contemporary American study of Canadian library government commented on Ontario's possibilities.

The county library associations in Ontario, while assisted by the county, are not a part of the structure of county government. These associations are extending their services, and new groups are being formed; it is likely that complete county service will result when permissive legislation is enacted. It seems that the history

⁴⁰ Ontario Dept. of Education, Report of the Minister of Education, 1935 (Toronto, 1936), 44.

⁴¹ Report of the Minister of Education, 1934, 84.

⁴² John Ridington, Mary J.L. Black, George H. Locke, *Libraries in Canada: A Study of Library Conditions and Needs* (Toronto: Ryerson Press and American Library Association, 1933), 61-62.

of the county library in Canada is only beginning.⁴³
Unlike this report's description of a municipal-based "strong board" system in Ontario, the existing voluntary county associations lacked legal authority and legitimacy.

Towards the end of the Great Depression trustees recognized the need for greater cooperative efforts on their part. Speeches and 'round tables' involving board issues often had highlighted the Ontario Library Association's annual spring meetings over the years. The American Library Association had formed a Trustees Section fifty years earlier and recently published a valuable handbook, *The Library Trustee*, in 1937. By the start of the Second World War, there were important personnel issues held over from the Depression years for Ontario board members to address, such as unemployment insurance, certification, and pensions. A more formal organization of trustees was deemed necessary because the federal government was starting to administer an unemployment insurance system in July 1941 and the place of library boards in the municipal structure remained uncertain. At this time a Trustees Section formed according to OLA's constitution. This group originally was very small—about 25 in number and began its work slowly. Nonetheless, by 1944, under the leadership of Newman F. Mallon, Toronto Public Library, the group was offering the Department of Education legislative revisions to indemnify boards against injuries sustained on library premises. Other members were using their personal contacts to influence government policy. One, trustee, Alan R. Ford, the London Free Press editor, actually talked with the new Conservative Premier, George Drew, about certification of librarians shortly after the provincial election in 1943. During the war, some board members and librarians began to explore sponsoring film councils or participating with regional film groups, in conjunction with the National Film Board headed by John Grierson, to extend their community programs beyond the power of the book. 44 However, debate on changes in the form of boards, the value of special purpose bodies, trustee accountability, library financing, community programming, and the centralization of library services at the county or regional level remained unresolved at the outset of the war. As a result, ambiguity was developing about the traditional paradigm of lay board control conceived in 1882 even before the entire structure of local government in Ontario began to undergo reassessment in the 1950s.

⁴³ Jean Eileen Stewart, *The Public Library in Canada in Relation to the Government* (Chicago: Fellowships and Scholarships Committee of the American Library Association and the Graduate Library School, University of Chicago, 1939), 86.

⁴⁴ Dorothy Annesley, "Films and Canadian Public Libraries," *American Library Association Bulletin* 40 (June 1946): 195-98 provides details for Canadian library activities with the National Film Board at this time.

3. POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND RESPONSIBILITY

From the foregoing section it is evident the primary consideration for analyzing the political character of library boards must be their representative nature. Another essential political concept is responsibility, a necessary function of representative government. Various service roles or programs do not give each library board an identity; it is the particular constituency the board represents that does so. The board of a city, town, village, township, or other incorporated area is obligated to serve its own locale. Residents expect appointees to make decisions based on some personal knowledge and direct contacts with people or circumstances involved in the political decision-making process. Lacking the legitimacy provided by the regular mechanism of elections, board members must maintain public acceptance of their right to control affairs in a variety of legal, political, and personal ways. For these reasons, the quality of library service is different according to local political conditions and the nature of public choice. However, since 1882 certain general arguments used to justify the authority possessed by trustees have been similar in many respects.

The topic of representation and responsibility warrants closer examination because non-elective representation ultimately does require the safeguards provided by the electoral process in a liberal-democratic political system. The accountability issue is very important: by law, the original model board was normally established using a public petition/referendum; boards were answerable to elected school boards and municipal councils that selected trustees; provincial departments ultimately regulated their activities. Nevertheless, in local government, there is often more to representative functions than supervision by elected parent bodies or occasional popular plebiscites. This is a key perspective to understanding the 'special' status that library boards have retained for a century. In the library community traditional ideas about representation— that is, about the relationship between people chosen to maintain services by elected officials and the citizens they serve—have not simply revolved around mechanical legal-formal arrangements which ensure accountable conduct by public referendums or sanctions given by elected bodies. Instead, four additional types of arguments have been used on a regular basis during the past century: these involve public participation, community likeness, trustee mandates, and board responsibility.

Traditional Board Representation

The idea of public participation in the political process, the sense of community

volunteerism on local groups with supervisory powers and confidence in local referendums described in the previous section, were especially important in the nineteenth century when library boards were first organized. Many people felt municipal councils would not be receptive to levying rates for library purposes or administering the library directly. Councillors, after all, were primarily interested in 'hard' services that were a direct benefit to property. As a result, early library promoters, like John Hallam, wanted to "let the people themselves decide the question of the establishment of rate-supported libraries." Both Hallam and John Taylor, another Toronto alderman who campaigned for a free library, felt a Board of Management composed of elected or appointed members was essential. Taylor "held that the proposed Board of Management for the Toronto library—being of a representative and responsible character—would be as competent to handle the city funds with due economy as any other Board of an educational nature." Three elective bodies shared appointments and board members gained authority to manage within certain parameters, e.g. the maximum one-half mill rate. Trustees attempted to balance their personal beliefs, the views of their constituents, and the common goal of maintaining and improving libraries for the entire community.

To administer libraries, the 1882 A ct stipulated that a Board of Management would exercise general management and control; it would be "a body politic and corporate" composed predominately of nonelected citizens. But, as the size and complexity of local government increased, volunteerism and public referendums became less feasible: the focus of participatory ideas began to shift away from the independent position of the trustee willingly serving in local politics toward the dynamic relationship between trustees and their community supporters. At the turn of the century, farmers', teachers' and women's institutes were allowed to affiliate with boards for promoting library development. A handful of 'Friends of the Library' groups were mobilized in Canada during the Great Depression partly in response to diminishing finances. Later, in the 1970s, citizen advisory committees (a popular adjunct used by elected representatives) were utilized when community planning studies were undertaken or building programs developed. Today public participation continues to be important, not just in an institutionalized advisory role to elected officials but in terms of actual political decision-making. Because the image of the civic-minded volunteer giving unselfishly in an unpaid governmental capacity is virtually indestructible, the board form of government remains popular

¹ John Hallam, Notes by the Way on Free Libraries and Books with a Plea for the Establishment of Rate-Supported Libraries in the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Globe Printing Co., 1882), 28.

² "Free Public Library," *Toronto Globe*, November 24, 1881, 10.

³ For a contemporary view see Richard C. Tindal and Susan Nobes Tindal, "Divided Loyalties," *Municipal World* 118 (Nov 2008): 47-52, 64.

⁴ Public Libraries Act, 1895, 58 Vic. c. 45 s. 14-15.

⁵ Julia G. Stockett, "Friends of Libraries," Ontario Library Review 23 (1939): 369-370.

⁶ Pat Dewdney, "Citizen Participation: an Experiment in London, Ontario," *Canadian Library Journal* 34 (1977): 157-163.

but its terms somewhat uncertain.

A second popular theory pertaining to representation is resemblance. It is frequently stated that trustees are typical of their communities, thus they can understand or reflect the values, beliefs, and characteristics of their own community. The claim is made that the method of appointment allows more flexibility for minority representation than elections, if used prudently. It has always been difficult to assess the validity of this argument. In a 1907 Presidential address to the Ontario Library Association delegates, Norman Gurd was unequivocal: "We find no fault with the method of appointment of trustees under the Public Libraries act. The board appointed by the municipal council and the school boards should be, and generally is, fairly representative of all classes in the community." Even so, in the same period the provincial Inspector of Libraries, Walter Nursey, was less certain: he suggested an immediate need to have at least two women on each board. More than a half century later, the Bowron Report surveyed 206 boards with almost 1,300 members and found that "The typical board member in Ontario in 1974 was a man, 30 to 50 years old, with a university or college education, who worked in the field of education." His report tabulated various characteristics on a percentage basis: 9

- males 62.1%
- elementary schooling 4.4%
- housewives 19.2%

- females 37.9%
- secondary schooling 37.5%
- farmers 4.1%

- age 18 to 30 2.8%
- univ. or community
- business 16.1%

- age 30-50 52.4%
- college ed. -40.8%
- education 18.2%

- age 50-65 33.5%
- post university ed. 17.3%
- skilled labour 4.0%

■ age 60+ - 11.3%

■ retired – 12.6%

Generally, commentators agree that most trustees have been and will continue to be solidly middle class. In this milieu, the representation of various ethnic and social minority interests is a questionable matter.

Thirdly, board members can also point to their statutory basis that gives them the *de jure* authority to maintain the best interests of their constituencies. In this sense, they are "entrusted" with the position to make decisions for constituents based on their own knowledge. By law, there are procedures that partly define the nature of responsibility: terms of office, rules of disqualification of members, duties of office holders, open meetings, and so on. In this normative sense, responsibility is the converse of accountability. With appropriate rules and mechanisms in place, trustees may go about their business of formulating plans for good library service. But should board members be answerable to the public or to their appointing bodies? As early as

⁷ Norman Gurd, "Present Problems of Libraries in Canada," *Public Libraries* 12 (1907): 177.

⁸ Walter R. Nursey, "The Trustees' Duty to the Public," in Ontario Dept. of Education, *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1912 (Toronto, 1913), 646.

⁹ Albert Bowron, *The Ontario Public Library: Review and Reorganization* (Toronto: Ontario Provincial Library Council, 1975), 80-83.

1892, Toronto alderman John Hallam, originally a driving force behind the establishment of Toronto Public Library, moved a Toronto council resolution instructing its three library appointees to support the city's application to amend the public library rate section of the library act. The *Toronto Globe* was amused that the same representatives, who included the former mayor, A.R. Boswell, had been assigned by the library board to oppose the city's measure. "Who will they obey now?" queried the *Globe* correspondent. They spoke against the amendment because a reduction of the library mill rate for Toronto would constrain finances at a time when they planned expansion and branch changes. They believed their own judgment on what constituted the 'public interest' to be a paramount consideration. However, other trustees criticized this action, saying Boswell gave the impression "that he is superior to ordinary mortals, and is not called upon to represent the legitimate aspirations of the taxpayers." Eventually, the Ontario Legislature passed the contentious measure to reduce taxable revenue power.

John Hallam's use of the mandate theory of representation—the idea that board members are agents who carry out instructions given by their appointing bodies—has understandably never entirely been popular in library circles. Consultation with appointing bodies is certainly accepted; this point has been made repeatedly at conventions dealing with trustees' duties. In point of fact, the idea of serving as delegates constantly to expound another body's instructions (or the common interests of a community) is not really practical in many instances where agendas are crowded with details unknown to the governing body. This mandate view of representation—board members acting as delegates—leads to a further consideration of responsibility, another political concept about which conflicting opinions are found in local government.

Responsible Board Governance

Three questions are fundamental in discussing responsibility: who is in charge; what duties are authorized; and how is the public interest served? Concerning the first two points, there is no doubt that trustees consider that they are representatives with the authority to exercise power and that there are procedures in place to make them accountable for their actions or oversights. Trustees feel no need to be defensive about the fact that they are appointed, not elected. However, there are other aspects of responsibility because it is difficult to define either the 'public interest' or what constitutes successful action in performing the duties of office. One factor is the duty to be responsive to the needs and wishes of their constituents, particularly minorities. Because boards are at an arms-length relationship with three appointing bodies, trustees claim they are better able to protect or be sensitive to the interests and rights of

¹⁰ "At City Council," *Toronto Globe*, March 15, 1892, 8.

¹¹ "Library Controversy," *Toronto Globe*, March 24, 1892, 8.

individuals or groups. This non-partisan stance usually is invoked in cases where immediate political pressures on particular intellectual resources are pressed.

Not one of us need apologize for protecting that special role. There is nothing wrong with being single-minded in our ambition to keep library resources under a special purpose board that is at least once removed from the maelstrum [sic] and the exhaustion of the regular 'politics of City Hall.' The job is just too important to leave to city hall officials, and councillors with a host of other responsibilities. ¹²

'Library neutrality'—an ambiguous term—forms part of the core of trustee work and selection of materials for library collections. It is often invoked, especially during budget battles or censorship issues. The term, however, is seldom defined in policies or trustee manuals.

To help respond to local concerns it is necessary to be acquainted with the wide spectrum of goals associated with public libraries. Trustees are expected to be in step with new trends or be knowledgeable about established services in order to provide their communities with good service. George Locke made this point forcefully in 1917 when he spoke about the need to establish the library as an active centre promoting knowledge for everyone:

To accomplish a desirable end there must be intelligence on the boards of our libraries. What we need on these boards is a representation of the younger men and women. Time has passed when the artificial method of adding clergymen and school teachers sufficed to give an air of intelligence. They are useful when they are interested intelligent persons sympathetic with the aims of the Public Library. They must be treated as individuals and not as representatives of any institution. ¹³

A knowledgeable contemporary, Otto J. Klotz, Jr., a long-time, influential Ottawa trustee, concurred. He advised an Ontario Library Association audience:

A trustee should make a point of becoming somewhat acquainted of what other libraries are doing, as found in reports and publications; he may at times get thereby new ideas or pointers that may be applicable in his own library. Again, if he has occasion to travel and has an hour or so to spare in a town or city where there is a Public Library, he should go there, 'nose' about, and he will find that the visit is profitable.¹⁴

These early pronouncements helped formed the basis of cooperative efforts in subsequent decades.

Furthermore, it is generally believed that boards are obligated to demonstrate that their work is carried on efficiently, effectively, and with integrity. David Park Jamieson's comments

¹² Marilyn Crow, John Boulden, and Peter Barrow, *Board or Bored? The Role of Library Trustees* (Kitchener: Midwestern Regional Library System, 1981), 7-8.

¹³ George Locke, "The Privileges and Obligations of Public Libraries in these Days of Unrest," *OLA Proceedings 1917*, 45.

¹⁴ Otto J. Klotz, "The Trustee's Duty to the Public," *OLA Proceedings 1910*, 81.

at the 1941 OLA convention are typical in this regard: trustees should "see that they receive the maximum municipal grant obtainable—that it is properly administered—and that the public is given the best library service possible with the funds received." Expertise in one area—finance, business, education—is one criterion used to select potential candidates for board vacancies. Often the need for continuity is stressed; thus, board terms that provide for retirements in alternating years are felt to be necessary for decision-making. Boards consciously seek not to be complacent in this regard: the process of self-examination and self-renewal also is accentuated in many trustee handbooks.

Therefore, it is argued that there is more to responsibility than simply observing arrangements to maintain accountability with the public, appointing bodies, and the board itself. Trustees believe they must balance accountability with the governmental obligation to discharge their duties properly and the personal duty to be responsive to groups using various services or requesting better programs. As well, trustees are encouraged to join library associations and learn as much as possible to make informed decisions and promote services. The boosterism inherited from an earlier provincial public library movement is still very much alive today as it was when E.A. Hardy eloquently expressed the following sentiments in 1904:

On the boards of our libraries throughout the province there are scores of college men and it has been so for years. They have been the backbone of the movement, and I am satisfied that the greatest work before us [the OLA] is the placing before these trustees the needs and the methods of the public library as conceived by the leaders of the movement. Once they grasp the possibilities as to the results and methods, the burden of the work is done. Funds will be found and methods perfected to bring the library into its proper place as one of the greatest educational factors in the community. ¹⁶

Thus, accountability is only one element in the broader issue of responsibility: responsiveness, competent performance, and advocacy are deemed equally important.

Changing Priorities in Local Government

Compared to the relatively stable period before 1945, important changes took place pertaining to the two basic political concepts in the four decades after 1945. Clearly, ideas about representation and its counterpart, responsibility, cannot be static abstractions. It is to this evolutionary process that we now turn, for the original legal support for boards—the petition/referendum, appointment by three bodies, and overlapping terms—has been displaced within a short span of thirty years. Beginning in the 1950s the consolidation of local government, that is, the activities of the municipal corporation and numerous local agencies and boards

¹⁶ Edwin A. Hardy, "The Ontario Library Field," *Public Libraries* 9 (1904): 201.

¹⁵ D. Park Jamieson, "Duties of a Library Trustee," Ontario Library Review 25 (1941): 371.

serving a community, has progressed steadily in Ontario. Today the affairs of the municipal corporation generally have become identified with local government. To trace change in the legislative record pertaining to differing viewpoints on representation and responsibility, the Revised Statutes of 1950, chapter 310 (essentially a continuation of the 1920 Act) and 'new' library acts of 1966 and 1984 can be used for comparative purposes. The main legal criteria to be examined will refer to accountability to the public and appointing bodies, trustee qualifications, and methods permitting citizens to take part in governance.

With regard to direct public participation, up until 1966 the referendum process was the most prominent legal prerogative. The 1950 RSO edition of the Act, which perpetuated the traditional provisions for establishing public libraries, stipulated that upon receipt of a petition (form 1 appended to the Act) signed by a specified number of ratepayers, councils were compelled to submit a by-law (form 2) to the electorate. After successful passage, council was obligated to give the by-law third reading, and then forward it to the Minister of Education. The petition/referendum enhanced the legitimacy of lay board authority because it was a direct expression of popular will. The same appeal to the electorate was also available to boards in the event a parsimonious council refused to authorize the requested public library debentures. Both these referendum measures were introduced before 1900 when legislators believed that boards should be brought into being and sustained in vital matters by specific electoral means. In the last part of the nineteenth century, the library board was considered an important agent for developing local self-government. However, from the beginning there was no universal agreement on the efficacy of the referendum process. Concerning the Toronto by-law in 1883, the conservative-minded Goldwin Smith obviously felt that the referendum was a rash episode where the opportunity for deliberation was limited: "By tacking a by-law to an election, advantage is taken of the excitement which draws citizens from their houses, and the polling paper for the by-law is then thrust into their hands."¹⁷

By the late 1950s, it was evident that the petition/referendum process needed revision. Virtually all cities and towns had established free libraries—larger towns such as Bowmanville (1957) and Cobourg (1958) were among the last to abandon the association library form that had served as a voluntary substitute in smaller communities for free municipally-funded service. In 1959 there were only a dozen communities over 2,500 population that had not made the transition to free library status by votes in municipal elections.

- Atikokan
- Deep River
- Kintore
- Point Edward

- Blind River
- Eastview
- Mattawa
- Rockland

- Coniston
- Hawkesbury
- Markham
- Smooth Rock Falls

¹⁷ Goldwin Smith, "The Free Library," *The Bystander: A Monthly Review of Current Events, Canadian and General* 3 (April 1883): 106.

As enthusiasm for association libraries declined at the same time that county library development began to consolidate smaller libraries in the early 1960s, referendums on a countywide scale were not feasible. In the 1959 Act, which introduced county libraries, the approval of 75 percent of the municipal councils within the county was required to have a board established for the municipalities choosing to join the service. ¹⁸ The St. John Report on Ontario libraries released in 1965 recommended that when 66 percent of the voters in a county voted favourably to establish a county service, a board would be created to serve all municipalities without exception. ¹⁹ Yet, both the 1966 and 1984 acts opted for a different procedure that allowed municipal councils to request the formation of boards at the county level following the 1959 Act's procedure. The administrative structure of county boards differed from the traditional independent board model. These boards had more councilors than citizens (an *ex officio* warden, three councilors, and three citizens) and its chief librarians often worked in a more integrated setting with other county administrators.

The St. John Report also advocated direct election of trustees in an attempt to extend the principle of the referendum. St. John's rationale was straightforward:

All types of public libraries are established in Ontario because the citizens of each type of community have voted to tax themselves to support this civic function. It is the opinion of the surveyors that these citizens should have a direct vote in selecting the trustees of their public libraries and that this should be done by direct vote at regular elections.²⁰

This recommendation was ignored when the petition/referendum was eliminated in the 1966 Act. Boards were created simply with a municipal by-law or with a by-law passed by trustees of an improvement district. Referendums on library debentures (seldom used) lingered until 1984, at which point council and Ontario Municipal Board approval became the established appeal process.

Few people in the library community missed the referendum process. A knowledgeable Toronto journalist, J. Bascom St. John, observed, "On petition of residents, there is a considerable measure of compulsion on a municipality to set up a library, but too few know about this power, or, if knowing, care to bestir themselves." The general attitude seemed to be that it had served its purpose, as **Table 1** shows. From the wider library movement perspective, referendums conducted in small southern townships and northern districts yielded diminishing returns. From 1945-60, about a hundred new free libraries were created, but the percentage of

¹⁸ The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1959, 7-8 Eliz. II c. 82 s. 6.

¹⁹ Francis R. St. John Library Consultants, *Ontario Libraries: A Province-Wide Survey and Plan* 1965 (Toronto: OLA, 1965), 152.

²⁰ Francis R. St. John, *Ontario Libraries*, 142.

²¹ "Why Libraries are Neglected," *Globe and Mail*, April 8, 1963, 7.

total population served had increased by less than 5 pe rcent. As well, the necessity for referendums in a period of economic growth that allowed more capital library projects, such as federal Centennial funding, was not as apparent. Because referendums are not generally utilized at any level of Canadian government, it is no surprise library boards lost this particular legitimizing process.

The loss of the petition/referendum did have some unforeseen repercussions in rural areas because the scenario for more county libraries underestimated the attachment to local autonomy in many parts of Ontario. Local councils continued to choose to create local library boards to replace many of the dissolved association libraries after 1966. In communities of less than 10,000 where council made all appointments, new boards were considered to be little more than committees of council. This was especially true after 1970 when many new *pro forma* boards were created to receive provincial and Wintario grants for libraries. The general movement toward consolidation of boards was completely reversed. More importantly, a traditional legitimizing element that provided stability—the direct referendum process linking boards and local electorates—had disappeared.

The second traditional viewpoint related to representation fared somewhat better over four decades. Although trustee characteristics in the Bowron Report indicated that minority interests were often absent at board meetings, the argument that members of appointed boards should generally reflect the character of the community continued to be popular into the 1980s along the following lines:

If a board is truly representative of its community (which is imperative in my view), each trustee will mix in a different milieu and age group. Each trustee will belong to different service clubs or sports organizations or church groups and have very different business connections, and each will have a different social and educational background.²²

But in the area of trustee qualifications, few statutory changes appeared in the three major library acts after 1950:

- trustees must be residents of the municipality served: RSO 1950, 1966, 1984;
- trustees must be Canadian citizens: 1966, 1984 (British citizens: RSO 1950);
- trustees must be 18 years of age: 1966, 1984 (21 years of age: RSO 1950);
- trustees must not be employees of the board, municipalities, or county: 1984.

Aside from these basic rules, reliance upon a ppointing bodies to select people based on geographic (e.g. ward boundaries), ethnic background, or other *ad hoc* considerations such as personal contact, is the basis of determining resemblance. It is impossible to legislate likeness in a provincial act.

²² Peter Barrow, Louis Boaretti, and Monica Collins, *Library Trusteeship: Challenge, Obligation, and Opportunity* (Richmond Hill: Central Ontario Regional Library System, 1981), 4-5.

The same may be said for citizen appointments, another part of the participatory theory of representation. All that has been achieved in legislation is to restrict the number of members of an appointing body that can serve on the board, thereby reserving posts for non-elective candidates. Alternatively, provision for larger boards can be introduced, thus creating more positions for citizens; this occurred in 1984. From a review of the evidence, it seems the theories of resemblance and participation, although popular at the grassroots, are not sufficient arguments in themselves to sustain the library board as an independent political entity. Thus, most attention rests on the concept of responsibility.

The issue of responsibility has become paramount in the past quarter century, but, in fact, legislative provisions have not changed dramatically, as **Table 2** shows. Obviously, the legislative accent is on accountability and the proper discharge of duties because it is difficult to legislate responsive behaviour or active promotion of service with specific legal sections. The trend that emerges from the second table is more control by councils to supervise budgets. The dictates of efficient government require more centralized decision making.

Ties with elected school boards began to loosen when the large-scale consolidation in primary and secondary education began in the late 1960s. After this time, the relationship of county boards of education and smaller municipal library boards certainly appeared to be at more than 'arms-length.' The reporting mechanism to school boards was never strong, except for school area townships or sections that had formed a few library boards before 1966. C ounty school trustees were never involved in budgeting or funding to any extent. Efforts to establish school-housed public library service did not meet with wide acceptance. When the Public Libraries Programme Review commenced in 1980, it eventually received more than 350 submissions, but only a handful—about ten—were from boards of education. As a result, when the 1984 Act was prepared, it seemed inevitable that councils would be authorized to make all appointments, and, in fact, this did occur. The new Act allowed school boards to make recommendations for three persons in library jurisdictions of more than 10,000, but council had to approve these appointments. Later, the necessity for any municipal council to appoint school board nominees was removed in the *Government Efficiency Act*, 2002.

The debate on c ontrol of appointments by councils became more energetic and intertwined with a number of issues beginning with the local government reviews that began in the mid-1960s. The 1965 Beckett Committee Report on municipal government pointed out that there were few restraints on any of the nonelected boards. It recommended that members of

²³ L.J. Amey, *The Canadian School-Housed Public Library* (Halifax: Dalhousie University School of Library Science, 1979), 107-143, surveys this topic in three papers.

council be allowed to sit on boards and that they be given the power to recall appointees and fill vacancies to strengthen accountability within the municipal framework.²⁴ When the topic came before delegates at the 1969 Ontario Municipal Association convention at Niagara Falls, they passed a resolution calling for library boards to become committees of council. In the following year, an extensive study on special purpose bodies by the Department of Municipal Affairs helped set the agenda for a prolonged dispute that continued for the next fifteen years.

The Departmental study strengthened the case for municipal powers. Independent or semi-independent boards and commissions at the local government level were to become administrative boards of council by applying five general principles: ²⁵

- councils would make appointments to boards;
- councillors could sit on boards and hold a majority of positions;
- terms for board members would coincide with terms for councils;
- councils would control budgets;
- the geographical area served by boards would be coterminous with the local or regional municipality making appointments.

In this way, boards would be more accountable to elected councils and council priorities or coordination of all 'municipal' services could be better achieved. Of course, the idea that local self-government should be equated with municipal government headed by council was an inclusive argument that had never applied to the traditional library board prototype. Nevertheless, by the mid-1970s a regional library director coordinating activity by twenty library systems in central Ontario captured a general attitude: "It seems to feel that boards, in general, have become too independent and too far removed in responsibility from the elected representatives."

Throughout the provincially sponsored reviews of regional government and county restructuring in the 1970s, a host of recommendations were made about the independent status of boards, but there was no consensus in the library community or within municipal government about the essential features of boards.²⁷ One solution was to administer library service at the second-tier regional base, another to retain service at the first-tier base. In either case, the governing body might continue to be a semiautonomous board or, alternatively, become a

²⁴ Ontario Select Committee on the Municipal Act and Related Acts, *Fourth and Final Report* (Toronto, 1965), 155.

²⁵ Susan J. Dolbey, *Local Special Purpose Bodies in the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: Dept. of Municipal Affairs, 1970), 47-50.

²⁶ Colin, Robertson, *Mini-guide for Trustees*, rev. ed., (Richmond Hill, Ont.: Central Ontario Regional Library System, 1977), [3].

²⁷ For this period see Stephen Cummings, "Public Libraries and their Part in Ontario's Regional Reform Movement," *Canadian Library Journal* 43 (1986): 39-47.

council committee or department. The 1975 B owron Report suggested that all library board appointments be made by council and that four council members be permitted to sit on a board.²⁸ However, after reviewing the report, the Ontario Provincial Library Council (OPLC) advised the Minister of Culture and Recreation, Robert Welch, not to change the present mode of appointment.²⁹ The Minister supported the concept of boards in principle, but sought a compromise about the composition of boards in late 1977 that involved the legislative route.

If I was satisfied that a county or region had arrived at some consensus with respect to that—involving as it would some discussion with the library board and school board and the council and other interested parties, and it wanted to come forward with a private bill indicating that type of consensus—that might be, at this stage, the best way to treat it. 30

In fact, his statement would become a provincial policy over the next two decades as boards and local councils jostled for control in local struggles and regional realignments.

The Association of Municipalities of Ontario (AMO) held a lively session on the abolition of library boards, at its August 1978 convention, which resulted in an AMO position paper calling for the dissolution of boards.³¹ Later in the fall, at London, the Council of the Canadian Library Association invited papers on 'The Future of Public Library Boards' and followed with a report recommending retention of boards.

Though arguments promoting both the maintenance and the abolition of library boards have been advanced, there is no conclusive evidence that the abolition of boards would result in better library service to the public. . . .

Taking into consideration that library boards are structured quite differently from province to province (and in fact two provinces do not have library boards) the overwhelming opinion from across the country was that library boards are essential to the development of effective public library service.³²

The question remained unsettled while a flurry of private members' bills was brought forward in the Legislature. In Lennox and Addington, the board was dissolved and county council replaced it effective January 1, 1978. Having a county council operate a library as a committee was an unusual feature but a successful one in this case.³³ Another 1978 bill from London was

²⁹ A synopsis of the July 1977 OPLC brief to the Minister appears in the *Ontario Library Review* 61 (1977): 231.

²⁸ Bowron, *The Ontario Public Library*, 70.

³⁰ Legislature of Ontario Debates, Social Development Committee, Dec. 7, 1977, S-986.

³¹ The proceedings of this session were recorded in *Municipal Government Structure: Should Public Library Boards be Abolished?* (Toronto: Trans Media Services Ltd., 1978), audio cassette.

³² The Future of Public Library Boards in Canada - Report (Edmonton: CLA, 1979), [ii]; and Council Hearing on the Future of Public Library Boards, Thursday, October 26, 1978 (Ottawa: CLA, 1978).

³³ The County of Lennox and Addington Act, 1978, 26-27 Eliz. II c. 126; and Bruce Geddes, "Library as Committee of Council—Does It Work?" *Ontario Library Review* 65 (Dec. 1981): 278-84.

unsuccessful: by its provisions, a six-member board appointed by council could be given directives with which to comply for specific periods. Two more bills pertaining to libraries received first reading in summer 1979 before being discharged. The Town of Aurora council tried to dissolve its board and establish the council as the corporate body. In the Ottawa-Carlton Region, an amendment to the regional act proposed the replacement of the Nepean and Vanier boards by the respective local councils, but it was withdrawn.³⁴

Because the government appeared hesitant to take a firm stance on a number of matters, the Ontario Public Librarians' Advisory Committee formed a long-range planning task force to study a revision of the library act. In concert with the OPLC, the task force expanded its mandate to include a blueprint for library development in the 1980s. The first three preliminary papers, Entering the 80's, issued between autumn 1979 and spring 1980, startled many trustees (and perhaps the provincial government as well) with recommendations that boards should be based on populations of 50,000 or more and that municipalities should be given a choice of selecting the type of administrative entity preferred in their area. Finally, at the September 1980 meeting of the OPLC, the new Minister of Culture and Recreation, Reuben Baetz, announced that a provincially funded two-year programme review would be undertaken. The review, conducted by Peter Bassnett, director of Scarborough Public Library, eventually recommended retaining boards and permitting council to make all appointments, which could include councillors. Bassnett also recommended that the term of office for trustees be for three years and limited to two consecutive terms. 35 The subsequent green paper, A Foundation for the Future, and Bill 93, which followed on 4 June 1984, pursued this line of reasoning save that in communities larger than 10,000 in population school boards were reserved the privilege of recommending three trustees to council for appointment.

After first reading, the Ontario Library Association (OLA) made a presentation to the Legislative committee reviewing Bill 93 concerning the composition of the board and term of office for trustees. The Association asked for an amendment to the bill to retain direct school board appointments for communities greater than 10,000 in population because it would maintain continuity and preserve impartiality. Further, with regard to changing the term to be concurrent with the three-year life of the council, the Association brief stressed the existing overlapping arrangement allowed for continuity. It argued that the new alignment could allow appointments that are more political and less freedom of action because "There is a fine line

³⁴ An Act Respecting the City of London, 27 Eliz. II, 1978 [Bill Pr 32]; An Act Respecting the Town of Aurora, 28 Eliz. II, 1979 [Bill Pr 15]; and An Act to Amend Certain Acts Respecting Regional Municipalities, 28 Eliz. II, 1979 [Bill 114 s. 11].

³⁵ Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *Ontario Public Libraries: The Provincial Role in a Triad of Responsibilities* (Toronto, 1982), 116-25.

between community control and council control."³⁶ Neither section of Bill 93 was revised. In terms of representation, the bill adjusted the size of boards as follows:

- public boards under 100,000: 5-9 members appointed by council with councillors one less than a majority;
- public boards over 100,000: 9-15 members appointed by council with councillors one less than a majority;
- county boards: 7-15 members appointed by county with councillors a bare majority (includeing the county library cooperative in Simcoe);
- union boards: 5-15 members appointed by participating municipalities with councillors as one less than a majority.³⁷

With the passage of Bill 93, it appeared a long debate had finally subsided.

Nonetheless, the proclamation of the library act in March 1985 did not satisfy the desire of some municipal councils that wanted to determine the type of library administrative structure or mode of appointment without any restrictions whatsoever. The option for a private member's bill still existed, and in general the government—Liberal or Conservative—supported consensus at the local level. Thus, at the fall 1985 Legislative session, Elgin County and Hamilton introduced two more private bills. Elgin successfully applied to dissolve the county board and have council act as the governing body. Hamilton council attempted to attain more accountability by requesting that council approve hiring and other personnel practices; receive monthly financial statements from the board; and have the city treasurer serve as board treasurer. This complicated bill was discharged in May 1986. A month later, in June 1986, Huron County Council pressed for special legislation to dissolve its library board and assume complete control by the county council directly. In this case, the Ministry did not formally oppose the measure but it did insist that there was no need to amend the current Act less than a year after its passage. On two occasions the Ontario Library Trustees Association successfully lobbied against passage of the Bill in the Legislature in early 1987.

In reviewing the evolution of representative ideas and responsibility after 1945, it is evident the three elements that sustained library boards for so long—the petition/referendum, sharing of appointments, and overlapping terms of office—were no longer regarded as vital contributions to representative or responsible local self-government. Without these arrangements

³⁶ Response to Bill 93, An Act Respecting Public Libraries (Toronto: OLA, 1984), 2 [typescript].

³⁷ *Public Libraries Act, 1984*, 33-34 Eliz. II c. 57 s. 9-10.

³⁸ County of Elgin Act, 1985, 33-34 Eliz. II c. Pr 16; and Bill Pr 41 - An Act Respecting the City of Hamilton (1985).

³⁹ Bill Pr 7 - An Act Respecting the County of Huron (1986); and Legislature of Ontario Debates, Nov. 4, 1986, 3073. For OLTA, see "Bill Pr7 Dies in House," Inside OLA; News for and about Members of OLA No. 4 (Feb. 1987): 1.

the independence (or existence) of boards was in jeopardy. In many ways, the petition/referendum process had served local library advocates well, as free library service generally evolved from cities to rural communities. However, referendums were not practical for the more complex political and administrative arrangements existing in counties and northern districts. Consensus on the functional aspect of representation—responsibility—gradually was redefined in the legislation of 1966 and 1984: the most appropriate consideration at the local level has become accountability to elected members of council. The survival of the traditional board form of government was partly due to the general recognition that it had been responsible and useful in rendering representative service for more than a century. However, the authority possessed by a mostly independent board, which existed until the mid-1960s, had become an anachronism on the local contemporary scene where greatly enlarged county boards of education and regional municipal councils vied with lower-tier municipalities and other agencies of the provincial government within the diffuse structure of local government. An Ontario political tradition had passed into history

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4. INFLUENCE, POWER, AND AUTHORITY OF LOCAL BOARDS

In the one hundred years that the library board has survived as a separate entity, it has naturally accumulated a number of legal powers and assumed various roles in the community. Statutes rather than municipal by-laws have defined the type of formal authority exercised by library trustees. Although the law is fundamental to investigating the right of lay boards to make decisions, boards must use many extra-legal resources that hinge on community prestige and acceptance of authority. The ability of trustees to get things done depends on a broad spectrum of factors: board policies for service, the local political environment (normally focused on municipal councils), board characteristics (voluntary service, no payment for discharging duties, etc.), public relations, support groups, recruitment of trustees, and other interactive processes. Thus, the character, resources, and initiative of a board must be considered with its legal authority when examining its influence in the community.

Legislative Powers and Duties

The essence of Ontario legislation has always been that library service is an optional local decision, not a mandatory requirement. From time to time, the degree and types of powers and duties citizen boards exercise have varied. Generally speaking, the Province has been primarily concerned with how things can be done—internal administration, public accessibility, or funding. The role of the public library has not been articulated at length in law. If a synopsis of the three Acts of 1950, 1966, and 1984 is made, it is apparent there have been few substantive changes to this general political arrangement since 1945 (see **Table 3**). In fact, the essential duties published in a short guide by the OLA Trustees Section in 1950 could be considered relevant throughout the postwar period. This pamphlet set four priorities in answer to the question, "What are the Duties of Trustees?"

- to select the librarian;
- to establish policies for general administration and devise satisfactory means to carry them out;
- to interpret the library to the community and the community to the library, and to see that the activities are closely coordinated with other community agencies concerned with similar functions;

¹ "So You're a Library Trustee!!! A Library Trustee's Manual," *Ontario Library Review* 34 (1950): 280-282.

• to secure adequate financial support for the library and control expenditures. It was a short but thorough list. A follow-up offprint by Bill Roedde fifteen years later simply added information on regional library roles and functions.² Nor did these responsibilities change substantially when CLA and OLA trustees updated their handbooks in 1978. The main priorities for responsible action specified by these handbooks were to:

- acquire funds for library operations and service;
- determine library objectives appropriate to the needs of the community;
- appoint a chief librarian responsible to the board for administration;
- set policies to administer the library leaving details of the execution to the chief librarian.
- draw up a program of public relations;
- promote library legislation and encourage trustee education.³

Instructions or suggestions about board powers were essentially absent in these brief guidebooks.

The most important power prior to 1966 was the actual level of local tax support that a library was eligible to receive. The public library rate—in the form of a mill rate or per capita levy-had stood as one of the four cornerstones supporting boards since 1882, the primary means by which 'free' access and 'free' services were funded. At the end of the Second World War, many boards often were content to obtain the customary maximum 50 cents per capita; they did not make much effort to get council amounts beyond this standard, although \$1.25 per capita became the actual ceiling established by legislation passed in 1944.⁴ Because the rate was established by statute, changes sometimes had political ramifications. In 1949 the Conservative government, intent on removing the old \$1.25 ceiling, was pressured by municipal councils, such as London and Orillia, to repeal a faulty amendment it had passed precipitously in the same session. When questioned about 'sloppily drafted legislation,' Leslie Frost calmly replied: "When we make mistakes, we make them and rectify them speedily." A revision was quickly introduced that reestablished 50 cents as the usual per capita maximum (it had been accidentally eliminated) and inserted a phrase that allowed any excess beyond 50 cents to be approved by a majority vote of council, thereby eliminating the \$1.25 ceiling. This section of the Act was never revised.

The Public Libraries Branch tracked the municipal per capita rate on an annual basis

² William A. Roedde, "ABC for Trustees," *Ontario Library Review* 49 (May 1965): 69-71.

³ Porter, Viola, Joan MacLeod, and Betty Butterill, *The Ontario Library Trustees' Handbook*, 2nd ed., (Ottawa: OLTA, 1978): 3; and Canadian Library Trustees' Association, *The Canadian Library Trustee Handbook* (Ottawa: CLA, 1978), [4].

⁴ The School Law Amendment Act, 1944, 8 Geo. VI c. 56 s. 8.

⁵ Legislature of Ontario Debates, March 31, 1949, 1726; and Orillia Daily Packet and Times, March 7, 1949, 5.

between 1946 and 1958 at amounts averaging between 56 and 99 cents. In the growth period of the early 1960s rates in the range of two dollars to four dollars per capita were not uncommon in many larger places. As a result, many trustees and library administrators believed reliance on the public library rate had become an anachronism. The St. John Report recommended that the 50-cent rate be abolished.⁶ To replace it, budget submissions based on a ctual program estimates could be presented rather than working with an arbitrary per capita formula first developed during the First World War. This logic appeared sound and in keeping with contemporary library financing and business management.

It is difficult to calculate whether the disappearance of the public library rate after 1966 had any major effects on the ability of boards to raise local taxes from councils on a provincial scale. **Table 4** shows average per capita rates did rise dramatically from \$2.55 in 1966 to \$18.96 in 1984. However, adjustments for inflation and increased government spending in general indicate that the real increase in constant dollars was much less impressive. Smaller boards, particularly pro forma ones created in the 1970s, encountered the most problems caused by the absence of a specific claimable rate; in fact, these boards were established to receive the provincial conditional grant and did not receive funding to any extent from local taxation because there was no statutory requirement to do so. As **Table 4** indicates, the adjusted per capita rates between 1971 and 1981 grew very slowly, partly because of government controls, but also because increased service to more people without corresponding contributions from local tax revenue naturally reduced the provincial average. To investigate the possible negative effects on the provincial average by the pro forma boards, the per capita average was calculated on the same basis for eight major cities—Toronto, Ottawa, London, Hamilton, Windsor, St. Catharines, Kitchener, and Oshawa. **Table 5** shows the 1971 average adjusted per capita in 1971 was \$5.31 and \$5.90 in 1984, a small overall increase, but a better performance than the average provincial increase from \$4.88 to \$5.08 during the same time frame.

Financial resources relate closely to free public access to library material, the *raison d'être* for boards. The 1950 Revised Statute indicates a fundamental concern the Education Department had tried to deal with as early as 1904: the problem of nonresident use. Direct fees for service evolved as the typical solution for this, and subsequent legislation has not changed the situation. Contracts with other boards or municipalities can also be negotiated to cover the costs of servicing nonresidents, but these often lead to local disagreements that aggravate relations on occasions. The same applies to reciprocal borrowing arrangements between boards. In all cases, the general rationale continues to be based on local parties working out satisfactory compromise solutions.

⁶ Francis St. John, *Ontario Libraries*, 68-69.

⁷ Nonresident use first appears in *The Statute Law Amendment Act, 1904*, 4 Edw. VII c. 10 s. 56.

More importantly, the impact of technology after 1945 even brought into question the long-standing ethos of free access for local residents. Record collections, film, or video libraries, computer-assisted information retrieval in reference departments and community programs are more expensive services to maintain than circulation or reference book collections that were specifically referred to in the 1950 and 1966 Acts. The concept of charging user fees surfaced repeatedly in connection with these newer library operations. In April 1979, the Minister of Culture and Recreation, Reuben Baetz, raised the possibility of instituting user fees before the Province's legislative Standing Committee on Social Development:

One of the services that has been the centre of controversy is the use of films. It's an expensive service, a very nice service, but I guess you get back to the question, does the general public feel it can afford it? Are you prepared to increase taxes in order that you can provide a film service out of libraries?⁸

The question persisted during the Public Libraries Programme Review between 1980 and 1982: many felt the resulting Green Paper circulated in spring 1983 was ambiguous on the topic of free access. Some trustees suggested charging fees for expensive services to help offset operating costs. Support for fees at times included acknowledgement that the real problem was ambiguity about the library's role in an information society.⁹

The Association of Municipalities of Ontario response to the Ministry's consultation paper was right to the point:

The Association believes that free access to libraries and the free use of books and reference materials within the library facility by the public should be maintained but that municipalities should be allowed the flexibility to adopt a fee policy with respect to any other service provided by the public library, if they so desire. ¹⁰

In reply, the Ministry appended a regulation to the 1984 Act that attempted to establish more uniform practices. This Act designated library materials as prescribed classes and by Regulation 100/85 defined free access to fourteen circulating classes:

- books—hard or soft cover
- periodicals
- newspapers
- handicapped audio materials
- sound recording
- audio and video cassettes
- tape recordings

- video disks
- motion pictures
- film strips
- film loops
- micromaterials
- computer hardware
- multimedia kits

⁸ Legislature of Ontario Debates, Standing Committee on Social Adjustment, April 19, 1979, Part S-110.

⁹ Marie Shantz, "To Charge or not to Charge," *OLA Focus* 9 (June 1983): 15-16, 33.

¹⁰ Association of Municipalities of Ontario, *Response to the Ontario Public Library System Consultation Paper* (Toronto, 1983), 2 [mimeograph].

A five-year period was established to allow boards to phase in free access to these materials where some charges had been in effect before. But beyond this commitment by the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, recourse to some type of institutional user fees to offset costs in providing online information service or community programs is usually determined by a board's short-term financial position. In the immediate future, the incidence of charging fees will likely continue to grow as personnel costs increase, more publishing goes online or in optical disk storage, and private information vendors proliferate.

In reviewing **Table 3**, it is evident that most of the legislative detail outlining board powers and duties is concerned with how a board operates: there are a number of sections on procedures at meetings, the executive positions, appointment, and dismissal of personnel, and rules for administrative purposes. These duties usually are necessary for the proper functioning of the board and the library system. Optional powers are also included, for example, boards "may appoint committees" or hold open meetings subject to certain conditions. Without a clear statutory statement of purpose, many boards have found their authority a bit circumscribed, especially in rural areas. In general, one of the problems identified by the Bowron Report was the lack of explicit direction on what services libraries should offer communities. What does a "comprehensive and efficient library service" mean to more than five hundred different boards or to municipal councils that raise the taxes?

The Changing Role of the Public Library

The proliferation of non-print media and the introduction of regional library systems signaled the need for a reconsideration of the traditional image of the public library as a strictly book-oriented local institution. The era of expansion, new media formats, programming, and interdependence had arrived in the 1970s. Many libraries were adopting new programs and participating in network planning. The Ontario Public Libraries Programme Review (begun in 1980 and completed in 1982) attempted to formulate a contemporary statement on the library's purpose that could be incorporated in legislation. The follow-up consultation paper's principles of public library service reflected the general thinking of the library community and appeared to provide the basis for authority that boards looked for in legislation.

However, there was immediate negative reaction from the AMO, which pointed out that public libraries and community information centres both provided information needs and that the

¹¹ Regulation 100 was published in the *Ontario Gazette* on March 16, 1985 and in the *Public Libraries Act, 1984*, which was given Royal Assent shortly afterwards. It was continued in *Revised Regulations of Ontario*, 1990, "Grants for Public Libraries," Regulation 976.

¹² Bowron, *Ontario Public Library*, 171-172.

¹³ Bowron, Ontario Public Library, 92-93.

statement appeared to contradict the Ministry's established practice of separate funding for information centres. The Association also questioned the necessity for including a cultural role because of the multiplicity of agencies already providing services, or the need for a statement that the library contributed to "constructive use" of recreational time. ¹⁴ At the heart of the matter was the potential demand for municipal funds that were in short supply after the 1982 recession.

In the face of this opposition about the library's role, the government drew back. It chose to recognize the diversity of service levels across the province (and avoid the potential for disagreement) by not elaborating on the library's role except to add a provision on F rench language service "where appropriate." By embracing the philosophy of enabling legislation, it was more realistic to handle the subject of authority relationships by continuing to distribute local conditional grants or by designating funds for specific projects that the Ministry felt complemented provincial plans. This was a flexible and workable arrangement, and it allowed the definition of service to be developed by local boards.

The absence of legislative direction about purpose puzzled many observers because trustees served on a special purpose body established by provincial law. With the loss of the referendum process, the public library rate, and their autonomy *viz-à-viz* councils after 1966, some trustees recognized this deficiency was a definite drawback for their authority relationships in the community. Published library standards were still somewhat helpful in the 1980s, but tended to generalize about the library's mission in society and provide normative assessments about 'what ought to be.' The Canadian Library Association's (CLA) standards (adopted in 1969) referred to four basic roles—education, information, culture, and recreation—that received wide acceptance. In practice, on a day-to-day basis, services varied a great deal, from the ultraconservative to the highly innovative. A very selective list illustrating the range of services in Ontario included:

- education: formal courses, literacy classes, nonfiction materials, computer equipment;
- information: online information retrieval, community information centres, reference, business department;
- recreation: children's story hour, craft demonstrations, field trips, facilities for community groups;
- culture: lectures/recitals, art gallery, film showings, book talks.

In the 1970s, as programming library services became more important, many innovative events attracted popular support. As a result, the base of library users expanded, often making budgeting

¹⁴ AMO, Response to the Ontario Public Library System Consultation Paper, 3-4.

¹⁵ Public Libraries Act, 1984, 33 Eliz. II c. 57 s. 20.b.

¹⁶ Canadian Library Association, Public Library Standards: Appendix (Ottawa: CLA, 1969), 2.

decisions more difficult.

The type of service offered by a library determines the amount of interaction it has with the public and the potential mobilization of political support. If there is public dissatisfaction with services or facilities, this may lead to a decline in the board's authority or legitimacy. But documenting efficient and effective library operations is a difficult process for boards. One North York trustee observed that there is "no authoritative measuring rod trustees can use in assessing how well run their libraries are." He concluded that it was subjective, instinctive feeling that allowed one to say "I know it when I see it" after weighing many things. ¹⁷ Obviously, perceived difficulties in delivering services may bring on greater scrutiny of the board itself and the eventual appointment of new members with new ideas. To buttress their position, since 1945, trustees have turned increasingly to extra-legal means to complement their authority. Some methods include staking out new areas for growth, use of advisory groups, public relations, more open recruitment techniques to fill board vacancies, and avoidance of 'political' conflicts at the local level.

One dramatic instance of role adjustment began at the Toronto Public Library in 1974. The urban reform movement had blossomed in downtown Toronto in the early 1970s and inevitably had many repercussions in the library system. Behind the dignified prose in the 1974 TPL annual report introduction about the "winds of change," newly appointed reform-minded trustees were planning to open up the system by reallocating resources more equitably, renovating branch libraries, establishing citizens' advisory groups, and strengthening the collection of Canadian, multilingual, and popular materials. The new board members commissioned a number of studies that revitalized the system, a transformation described by the activist-minded James Lorimer, the chairman from 1976-78, as a "turnaround." Lorimer urged other boards to reexamine services, such as collections, in order to develop a broader base of support in their communities. He believed this would be the best way to deal with budget-conscious aldermen who were unfamiliar or unsympathetic with libraries.

Although emphasis was placed on the benefits of citizen participation—sharing power and enhancing legitimacy—in fact the outcome for the library system was not unlike other periods of change that TPL had experienced previously. Shortly before the First World War, the board had made important decisions to permit open access to bookshelves for the public, to

¹⁷ Irvin H. Sherman, "What Makes a Library Well Run?" *Canadian Library Journal* 41 (1984): 249-252.

¹⁸ John Marshall (ed.), *Citizen Participation in Library Decision-Making: The Toronto Experience* (Metuchen, New Jersey: Dalhousie University School of Library Service and Scarecrow Press, 1984) provides a sympathetic assessment. For some negative thoughts by trustee candidates, see "Morale Problems of Public Library Staff an 'Epidemic,'" *Globe and Mail*, January 22, 1977, 5.

introduce children's departments, and to use the Dewey Decimal System for classifying books. Later on, in the 1920s and 1930s, it embarked on a decentralized system of neighbourhood branches to serve Toronto's diverse population. ¹⁹ The effect of reform in both eras was to make the library a more active force in the city, promote usage, and broaden popular recognition of the board's authority.

Board and Community Interaction

To the extent that the public perceives the usefulness of the library and associates its functions with other valued roles in the community, it may be possible to measure the power resident in its roles. An examination of these aspects is beyond the scope of this paper. However, some mention of public relations, a field in which boards have striven to improve their expertise, is necessary. Today it has become an axiom that organizations must communicate effectively to survive. The creation of goodwill for an organization and distribution of correct information about its services is an asset. Libraries have an interesting record of using creative publicity in their communities, and trustees have been conscious of the need for PR for a long time: "First impress the public with the idea the public library is a living institution. Advertise! Advertise!! Advertise!!" urged Norman Gurd at the 1904 Easter OLA convention. His advice was echoed a decade later in a practical way by the *Ontario Library Review*.

To form a powerful public opinion a library must perform good service, if it be only in a small way. Success brings success. 'Work your ten acres well and you will soon earn a hundred.' Every library that is successful in a large way was first successful in a small way.

In addition to giving good service a library must make itself heard. It must let the ratepayers and the powers-that-be know in no unc ertain way that library trustees and librarians have red blood in their veins.²¹

Communicating successful work, of course, was a common way to attract support and increase clientele as the advent of mass newspaper circulation, radio, television, and social media via the Internet proliferated in the twentieth century.

David Williams, a trustee and newspaperman from Collingwood who served as President of the Ontario Library Association in 1915-16, was an early advocate for advertising and publicity. In his 1916 presidential address, Williams spoke about the development of synergy between the press and local libraries through the good work of energetic trustees.²² A year later,

¹⁹ Margaret Penman, *A Century of Service: Toronto Public Library 1883-1983* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library, 1984), 19-36.

Norman Gurd, "How to Deepen Public Interest in the Library," *Public Libraries* 9 (1904): 224.

²¹ Editorial "The Great Essential," Ontario Library Review 3 (Feb. 1919): 54.

²² D. Williams, "The Press as Related to the Public Library," *OLA Proceedings*, 1916 (Toronto, 1916), 31-33;

he wrote,

Those for whom the library is provided must be made acquainted with the service it is in a position to give, and this can only be accomplished by publicity. In other words, if the people do not come to the library, a message from it must be carried to them. The service of any line of public or commercial activity may be of the highest order, but if its merits are withheld from the public, if its usefulness and advantages are not amply presented to the public mind, it will fail to confer the full measure of its enriching benediction. ²³

It was Williams who picked up on the clever notion to personify the library's activities by invoking the phrase "I Am the Collingwood Public Library" and including its many roles in short newspaper adds.²⁴

By 1945 knowledge of PR was becoming much more widespread: many boards had already gained valuable experience with radio, newspapers, exhibit booths at fairs, service club talks, store window ads, and other tested methods (such as the bookmark) that promoted services effectively and also presented a positive image. The use of publicity or advertising within an ongoing public relations program was beginning to be recognized. Trustees and administrators knew that services needed a sound organizational base; it was not enough simply to promote something without properly administering the 'product.' Chatham's long-time trustee, Charles Evans, laid out a program for successful publicity.

When the trustees have obtained a good city grant, obtained if necessary an efficient librarian or chief librarian, allotted money for adequate staff and services, made the best of library building and facilities, recognized the need for publicity, they have laid the foundations for good public relations.

Except in the smallest towns and villages, where the trustee's experience in publicity may be much greater than the librarian's, all publicity should be under the supervision of the Chief Librarian, following a plan mutually agreed upon.²⁵

Evans put forward several ideas to highlight library activities outside the library that incorporated reviews, skits, and short spots on regular radio programs. Libraries were quick to take up the challenge of adapting radio to reach people not normally physically present in a library. When Toronto's CFCA signed on in 1922, Toronto Public Library staff read three bedtime stories for younger children at 7.p.m. on the dial. Subsequently, it was not uncommon for trustees to host a local show; for example, at Chatham in summer 1935, the board chairman, chief librarian, and other representatives talked about the library's role and the value of reading

²⁴ "I Am the Collingwood Public Library," *Ontario Library Review* 2 (Nov. 1917): 62.

²³ D. Williams, "Publicity, a Factor in Library Work," Ontario Library Review 2 (Feb. 1918): 84.

²⁵ Charles S. Evans, "The Trustees' Responsibility in Publicizing the Library," *Canadian Library Association Bulletin* 5 (Sept. 1948): 74.

²⁶ "Bedtime Stories for Children Part of Stars' New Daily Radio" *Toronto Daily Star*, April 10, 1922, 1.

on CFCO for one evening a week for five weeks.²⁷ In the following decades, the idea that public relations are a useful administrative activity on a long-term basis took hold. Because libraries are not profit-making organizations, attempts to influence public opinion are important in the overall scheme to achieve the library's goals.

Although PR efforts at the municipal level can generate a good deal of local pride, understanding, and participation, the benefits derived from national or provincial public relations campaigns are also considerable. From 1959 to 1967, many Ontario public libraries participated in Canadian Library Week during the springtime. A committee of the CLA organized the Week. Its aim was to focus attention on all types of libraries and to stress the importance of reading; however, the Week had to be abandoned because of financial restraint in June 1967.²⁸ A few years later, in the Eastern Ontario Regional Library System, a Public Library Month was staged during the 1970s with some success. This Region also published a booklet, *Public Relations and Your Library*, for distribution to system members to emphasize the need for promotion of services and collections.²⁹ Often, in the 1960s and 1970s, public relations campaigns were not part of operational budgets that could be sustained over time.

At the end of the decade, the Ministry of Culture and Recreation sponsored an experimental provincial campaign called 'More than Meets the Eye.' In consultation with the Ministry, the Directors of Ontario Regional Library Systems coordinated radio, television, and roadside billboard ads with the distribution of local packages of buttons, t-shirts, and so on. The campaign, which ran from January to March 1979, tried to reach adult nonusers with the message that libraries had a wide variety of services and were not the quiet places they were often depicted as.³⁰ An evaluation took place afterwards that led to a second phase in 1980 that included some participating McDonald's Restaurants. Five years later, in September 1985, the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture launched Ontario Public Library Week. The Week featured two special conferences, 'Libraries 2000' and 'Youthtalk'85', which were well publicized.

The influential value of these sporadic campaigns has been debated since they began. Not every local event marking a Week has been a resounding success. Nor has publicity for a Week always consisted of celebratory columns; for example, in 1959 Pierre Berton wrote a satiric piece that was damning with faint praise about the Toronto Public Library's reasons for not purchasing

²⁷ Reported in *Ontario Library Review* 19 (Nov. 1939): 130 for Chatham library activity.

²⁸ Ruth F. Thompson, "Canadian Library Week," *Canadian Library* 24 (1967): 252-253.

²⁹ Joan MacLeod, *Public Relations and Your Library* (Ottawa: Eastern Ontario Regional Library System, 1971).

³⁰ Janet Arnett, "Public Relations Campaign of the Directors of Ontario Regional Library Systems," *Ontario Library Review* 63 (1979): 114-118.

a copy of the best seller *Lolita*. Many trustees and librarians are ambivalent about the use of PR (or its correlate marketing) because they believe it is self-evident that libraries are providing basic services that the private business sector cannot economically supply. Often, the need for PR or market analysis of demand and supply of services is regarded as a low priority. However, the reality is that not everyone uses a library or understands what it offers. While word-of-mouth or care in providing good service is vital, so is communication and analysis. These conclusions were reached in the CLA's *Project Progress* released in 1981 and in the 1982 *A Foundation for the Future* that designated communication as an area in which the Ontario provincial library agency would develop more assistance to libraries.³²

The use of citizens' advisory groups or PR methods does not mean potential influence will be used in a political fashion. Boards must convert their residual support in an appropriate manner within the right context. There are pragmatic ways boards extend their influence: by the sponsorship of groups and the recruitment of trustees. Support from members of groups was particularly important in the 1940s-1950s when county cooperative boards sought to broaden their activities. Arranging an annual meeting with a good speaker to simulate interest among "all people interested in County affairs and in educational work" along with a librarian's report on the year's work was a necessity in rural Ontario. Recruitment of new trustees was another 'unspoken' obligation. This activity demonstrates the strong tendency of boards to perpetuate their style and policies. The distinguishing style of boards is the voluntary/nonpartisan character of service. The pattern of board interaction with groups (or individuals) tends to co-opt the public for the library's own agenda or communicate its programs to its clientele. The major thrust of these activities is to minimize conflict and preserve the political *status quo*.

For many decades before 1970, trustee recruitment was not a particularly competitive process. Until the 1984 Act stipulated that vacancies had to be advertised, public information about openings was relatively low-key. A standard pronouncement about the qualities for prospective trustees appeared in a 1950 OLA pamphlet: "The ideal trustee is a man or woman interested in education, and with few prejudices, and a person of good judgment, sound character, common sense and public spirit." The realities of board selection often dictate more prosaic considerations. A number of pragmatic criteria for board membership exhibit many

³¹ Pierre Berton, "The Toronto Public Library's Sterling Stand against Censorship," *Toronto Daily Star*, March 6, 1959, 25.

³² Urban Dimensions Group Inc., *Project Progress: A Study of Canadian Public Libraries* (Ottawa: CLA, 1981), 101; and Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *A Foundation for the Future* (Toronto, 1982), 25.

³³ Agnes Montagu Leeds, "The Trustees of a County Library Board," *CLA Bulletin* 4 (March 1948): 117.

³⁴ "So You're a Library Trustee!!! A Library Trustee's Manual," *Ontario Library Review* 34 (1950): 280.

qualities:

- knowledge of libraries
- religious affiliation
- community interest
- time available for duty
- length of residence
- contacts with council

- geographic representation
- political experience
- sex
- previous board experience
- ethnic representation
- racial representation

Moreover, having selection criteria is only a beginning. People must be located and their consent to serve secured.

Finding residents who will be able to contribute is usually accomplished through personal contacts with elected officials, advertising the position, or solicitation of candidates by board members who recommend them to appointing bodies. Conversely, enthusiastic citizens may actively seek a board seat. Candidates sometimes are reluctant to serve. They cite commitments that reduce the time available for duty, or, less often, they are reluctant to face possible public criticism of board decisions. Other typical negative responses might include loss of income because of time demands, belief that little can be achieved in local government, or natural reluctance to get involved in public affairs. Convincing 'suitable candidates' to sit on boards eliminates problems associated with poor appointments and is often the result of perseverance and tact in the establishment of effective and friendly working relationships throughout the community. ³⁵ One trustee offered some advice about

...if it looks as though you're going to be stuck with a political appointment or one of the sitting members is trying to get a friend on, a ppeal to the board chairman for help and advice. If you have a weak chairman or, heaven forefend, he is the one trying to get the friend on the board, then lots of luck. You've done what you could and you'll have to take what you get and hope for the best!³⁶

After the 1984 A ct, public notices by municipal clerks became commonplace and council members usually had an opportunity to choose amongst a range of candidates.

Not much is known about the motivations that bring people onto library boards. It is generally agreed that altruism and advocacy are chief motives for board members. A less admired motive attributed to some is political ambition or a personal agenda. Betty Butterill, a Nepean Township trustee who wrote the *Handbook for Library Trustees in Ontario*, the first major pamphlet on trusteeship published in 1971, advised her readers, "Trustees who block

³⁵ M.R. Van Loon, "Library Board and Municipal Relations," *Ontario Library Review* 49 (1965): 26-28.

³⁶ Ruth Biggin, *The Trustee* (Richmond Hill: Central Ont. Regional Library System, 1973), 5.

³⁷ Lorraine M. Williams, "In Defense of Autonomous Library Boards," *Canadian Library Journal* 40 (1983): 289-290 speaks of trustees as 'crusaders.'

expansion of library boundaries and co-operation because of petty jealousies or to preserve their own little niche on the local library board should take a fresh look at their motives." Yet it is safe to say political careers are not normally hatched in the library field, although Ontario's ninth premier, George Howard Ferguson (1923-1930), was chair of the Kemptville library at the turn of the last century. His contribution to library service (he served at an early point in his career when the mechanics' institute changed to a public library), and supportive efforts by contemporary politicians, such as Senator Richard J. Stanbury, do typify the kind of civic-professional connections that Ontario's cities, towns, and villages have thrived on. Some trustees volunteer because they are interested in holding down tax rates, others get involved to promote and organize new services. It seems the majority of candidates are attracted by the goals and accomplishments of the library. In this milieu, the pool of eligibles tends to be like-minded individuals who are compatible with the existing board members.

The self-perpetuating recruitment pattern of boards and the pervading voluntary nonpartisanship in most cases has insulated the library from political strife. Establishing good library relations with other government bodies, especially municipal councils, has always been a priority with trustees. Attempts to increase the tempo of political action, namely advocacy or lobbying, have become part of OLA trustee programs such as WILL (Workshop in Library Leadership) that proved popular in the mid-1980s and were promoted by Ontario Library Trustees' Association. But lobbying ordinarily takes place once a year during budgetary submissions to council. The practice of assigning each trustee to inform one councillor on financial matters is a standard technique, yet it often occurs at casual social encounters that minimize formality. In terms of advocacy, which also is emphasized by WILL, the groups that boards are in contact with most frequently are Friends of the Library, educational groups, civic-business organizations, service clubs, and ratepayer associations.

Interpreting the work of the library to groups like these has become routine; this activity may mean attending special public meetings on topics of interest or simply holding open board meetings. Consequently, the communication gap between the public and the board is reduced. Maintaining good community relations can lead to cooperative ventures, for example, the

³⁸ Betty Butterill, "It is up to the Trustees to Improve Library Service," *Ontario Library Review* 48 (1964): 6.

³⁹ Richard Stanbury, "There's Votes in them thar [sic] Libraries," *Municipal World* 71 (1961): 293-294; and Peter Oliver, *G. Howard Ferguson: Ontario Tory* (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1977), 18.

⁴⁰ For example, Vivien [Mrs. Gordon] Kerr, "How Effective is Library Liaison with Government Bodies," in *Librarians! Trustees! Mutual Opportunities for Progress* (Ottawa: CLA, c.1964), appendix 14-15.

⁴¹ Ontario Library Trustees Association, *Workshop in Library Leadership Workbook* (Toronto: OLA, 1983) deals with these topics.

national 'Operation Library' program the Junior Chamber of Commerce carried on in the mid and late 1950s. ⁴² In a political context, Parent-Teacher or Home and School Associations sometimes were instrumental in preparation for petition/referendums on public libraries: City View Public Library was created in 1955 in this way. ⁴³ All these informal community relationships help realize the library's programs and buttress the progressive image of board authority.

A concise mention of Friends of Libraries (FOL) is necessary. Since the 1930s, these organizations have worked to improve services or facilities in many ways: by soliciting donations for special collections, resisting censorship, publishing newsletters, working with shutins, etc. By the outset of the Second World War many groups existed in the United States, yet Friends of the Library were slow to develop in Ontario. A report to the OLA annual conference in 1942 could only document three groups in all of Canada despite the obvious advantages they offered. Its author concluded: "If there was ever a time when the library needs a friend it is now." Rapid library expansion in the postwar era neglected, perhaps precluded, FOL groups—only a small number of foundations occurred. Each group set its own course, e.g. in Toronto support for special collections has been an important focus since the 1960s. 45

A few FOL have incorporated: Ottawa became one of the first major Ontario public libraries to form a Friends organization in 1981. When Mississauga set out to establish its group, David Culham, a council board member and supporter of the scheme said, "The purpose of such an organization will be to stimulate public interest in the library system through social, cultural and fundraising activities." This kind of citizen support can be of great value, depending on the Friends' leadership and strength. Friends of Libraries seldom get involved in political wrangles because they are aware of the advantage of avoiding public conflicts, but lobbying and raising public awareness remain potential activities. Normally, FOL are registered, non-profit charities. By 1998, their fundraising and advocacy work had increased in importance to the point that a national organization formed, Friends of Canadian Libraries Association, to strengthen ties between groups and to support their development. As a result, the political culture of libraries mostly remains what it was designed to be—apolitical. When authority, power, and

⁴² "Operation Library," Feliciter 2 (Nov. 1956): 10.

⁴³ N.F. Moody, "A 'Do-It-Yourself' Library for City View, Ontario," *CLA Bulletin* 15 (Nov. 1958): 118-121.

⁴⁴ Laura E. Loeber, "Friends of the Library," *Ontario Library Review* 26 (1942): 185.

⁴⁵ Elizabeth MacRae, "Friends of the Osborne and Lillian H. Smith Collections of the Toronto Public Library," *Horn Book Magazine* 50 (Feb. 1974): 93-94 [formed in 1966].

⁴⁶ Peter E. Grieg, "A Friends Group: Public Concern and Public Response to Library Difficulties," *OLA Focus* 13 (Autumn 1988): 13-16.

⁴⁷ Mike Funston, "Library's 'Friendly' Fundraisers," *Toronto Star*, June 2, 1988, W15.

⁴⁸ Violet Skory, "Friends of the Library," Canadian Library Journal 46 (1989): 317-21.

influence are perceived to be wielded to achieve desirable community goals, the nonpartisan quality adds to the board's stature.

In spite of the general pattern of stability, on occasions boards do become embroiled in contentious public issues. The most serious challenges to authority and power normally revolve around personnel, buildings, finances, programs, or censorship. Skillful avoidance of these situations is the subject of many workshops and seminars; however, no board is immune to difficulties in such areas. Changes in the position of library personnel can be particularly upsetting within a system. Whether the position is at the highest administrative level or much lower, the board ultimately is responsible for decisions. 49 In most cases, the issues remain undisclosed and do not become the source of public discussion. Many instances have affected the careers of individuals. The resolution of these problems is not always predictable. In smaller communities where council makes all appointments, the composition of the board itself can change entirely as a consequence of its decisions. 50 Since library staffs began to unionize in the late 1950s at London and North York, more publicity has been accorded to labour disputes.⁵¹ Two of the more notable strikes have occurred at London in June 1970 over wages and union recognition and at Toronto in October 1980 ov er wages and job classification.⁵² Naturally, unions are interested in sharing power in management of libraries, while boards guard their positions carefully.

Building projects can lead to potential trouble because the board, public, and council may quarrel about site selection and disposition of buildings. The demolition of the Carnegie Library at Guelph in 1964 is a case in point. At times, vocal groups or even a substantial part of the community may oppose plans for new buildings. This happened at Georgetown and Port Perry where the trustees and councillors were roundly criticized for planning new buildings in park locations. In both cases, hearings before the Ontario Municipal Board were needed to settle affairs. The OMB has also been called upon to decide zoning on land neighbouring library property: in 1976-77 the King Township council opposed the library board at two OMB hearings

⁴⁹ For example, the North York Board in 1980/81: "The Bookworms Turn—on North York Library," *Toronto Star*, Dec. 8, 1980, A3; and "Fired Chief Librarian Protests his Dismissal," *Toronto Star*, June 11, 1981, A22.

⁵⁰ For example, at Perth in 1979: "Board Fired," *OLA Focus* 5 (Feb.-Mar. 1979): 2.

⁵¹ See Judy Capes, "Unions in the Public Libraries of Ontario," *IPLO Quarterly* 17 (1976): 125-154.

⁵² P. Dewdney, "United We Stand; London's Library Strike," *Ontario Library Review* 54 (1970): 159-161; "Librarians Say Respect Main Issue in Strike," *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 11, 1980, 5; and "Library Staff Happier after Strike Cleared Air," *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 29, 1980, 5.

^{53 &}quot;Objecting to Destruction of Public Library Building," *Guelph Daily Mercury*, February 15, 1964, 9; and "Opposition is Voiced to Library Demolition," *Daily Mercury*, June 16, 1964, 9.

and at an Ontario High Court of Justice appeal.⁵⁴

Money can be a continual source of disagreement. The Aurora board got into a protracted dispute with council in 1979 over staff salaries and transfer of municipal funds to the board. The argument was formally debated at a public meeting and eventually led to litigation. A court dismissed the board's injunction against the town council to prevent interference in management of the board in 1980.⁵⁵ Contractual disputes between boards and councils about serving nonresidents are relatively common, especially in rural areas surrounding towns or cities. Proposals for county library boards (e.g. in Grey, Dufferin and Perth counties in the mid-1970s) were scuttled by the reluctance of trustees and councillors from larger towns to allow the possibility that funding may decrease after absorption by larger systems.

Censorship and Intellectual Freedom

The thorny issue of censorship generates controversy from many points. In the first part of the twentieth century trustees, librarians, and libraries were expected to conform to 'community standards' by exercising self-censorship. Border seizures by Canadian federal customs officials could include works of literary merit, such as James Joyce's *Ulysses*, or 'vulgar' novels, e.g. *God's Little Acre* by Erskine Caldwell. Just before WW II, the *Toronto Daily Star* conducted a survey of "sexy books" and declared in an editorial that libraries were responsibly attempting "to keep the worst books off their shelves." A year later, William Deacon, literary editor at the *Toronto Globe*, condemned censorship in strong terms and advised his OLA audience to uphold freedom in its many manifestations whenever possible.

I know that, as public servants, you are restricted; and I have every sympathy with your limitations, and I know the pressure exerted against your better judgment. But I call on you to oppose this menace with all the means at your disposal, and to subscribe in your hearts to the principle, whether you are able to do anything about it or not.⁵⁷

Usually, customs agents were inclined to seize political works, such as *Youth in the Soviet Union* (1934) or Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1880), and to control entry into the

⁵⁴ "Town of Halton Hills Public Library Building," *Ontario Municipal Board Reports* 8 (1979): 334-338. "Township of Scugog Restricted Area By-Law 77-79," *OMBR* 12 (1982): 16-29. "Township of King Restricted Area By-Laws 76-11 and 76-82," *OMBR* 6 (1977): 325-327, and *OMBR* 7 (1978): 1-13, and *OMBR* 8 (1979): 260-262.

⁵⁵ "Aurora Public Library Board and Town of Aurora," *Ontario Reports*, 2nd series, 29 (1981): 50-53.

⁵⁶ "Public Libraries and Sexy Books," *Toronto Daily Star*, March 17, 1939, 6.

⁵⁷ William Arthur Deacon, Sh-h-h.... Here Comes the Censor! An Address to the Ontario Library Association March 26, 1940 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1940), 13.

county.⁵⁸ However, library trustees sometimes found books with political overtones thrust into the limelight despite their lawful status. When Charles Lindbergh became unpopular for his charge that Britain was attempting to force the United States into the war against Germany in 1941, several Canadian municipal councils demanded his books be withdrawn from libraries, even be burned. Many Ontario boards agreed and withdrew the aviator's materials often with the awkward rationale that his books were not being read anyway.⁵⁹ Ottawa trustees struggled with the city council's request to remove Lindbergh's books and eventually filed the motion, perhaps agreeing with an *Ottawa Citizen* editorial that deplored the urge to ignite an "imitation Nazi bonfire."⁶⁰

In the immediate postwar years, the publishing industry in the United States and Canada began issuing franker novels with explicit language and sexual descriptions. Trustees and librarians often skirted the issue by claiming to balance the interests of free expression by authors with denunciations of offensive language by individuals or groups. There existed an implicit compromise with societal standards as well as the taxpayers who funded libraries. One Windsor trustee, W.C. Riggs, a former MPP in Ontario's Legislature, told the press at OLA's 1951 annual meeting in Toronto that "we know librarians sometimes hide books containing strong language under the counters, and often refuse to give out literature on specialized subjects to groups requesting it." A few years later, in Flesherton, a small village, the library was accused of possessing books riddled by "atheism, profanity and sex." Nonetheless, the trustees and the librarian stood their ground amid charges of indecency by refusing to withdraw books. 62

By the early 1960s, although there was a growing consciousness about the conflict between maintaining community standards and protection of free speech, the conservative nature of boards members (and librarians) often prevailed. In the most notable case, Toronto Public Library's chief librarian, Harry Campbell, refused to turn over library copies of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* to the RCMP before trustees discussed the matter at a meeting. Subsequently, after the Board decided to comply with the RCMP order, it received considerable criticism in the press and from the Toronto Board of Education. Because *Tropic* had never received a court hearing, the *Toronto Star* complained that libraries ought not to be judging and refusing books based on "hearsay." At this point, an OLA committee began work on an intellectual freedom

⁵⁸ J. Ross McLean, "Bad Books in Canada," Saturday Night 50 (6 April 1935): 10.

⁵⁹ "Lindbergh's Writings 'Trash,' Four Libraries Ban Books," *Globe and Mail*, 9 May 1941, 5.

⁶⁰ "Hysterics over Lindberg," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 17 May 1941, 32; and "Anti-Lindberg Request Filed by Library Board," *Evening Citizen*, 18 June 1941, 14.

⁶¹ "Increased Public Aid Promised to Libraries," *Globe and Mail*, June 12, 1951, 8.

⁶² For censorship between1945-67 see Lorne Bruce, *Places to Grow: Public Libraries and Communities in Ontario, 1930-2000* (Guelph, 2010), 146-50, 198-202, 229-30.

⁶³ "Book Banning by Hearsay," *Toronto Daily Star*, November 30, 1961, 7;

statement that libraries could support. Trustee representation included East York's S. Walter Stewart, who was prominent in OLA and CLA. After OLA adopted a statement in 1963,⁶⁴ larger libraries, such as Hamilton, also approved it.

As expression grew freer in the decade of the 1970s there were fewer incidents related to censorship. Trustees, too, began to be less concerned with 'community standards' and more open to defending freedom of expression. In a rapidly growing town east of Metro Toronto, one trustee could even approach the subject with some levity.

Any board can have a lot of fun and interest by adopting the OLA Declaration of Intellectual Freedom and sticking to it. In a community where a complained [sic] about a book is automatically withdrawn it would certainly be interesting and prestige building suddenly to refuse to censor. Can you imagine the strength, the co-operation, the pride of a board warding off the local Mrs. Grundies! Part of the board's duty is to bring people into the 20th century.

...A policy we have in Ajax, which I think is reasonable, is that any book someone asks for will be purchased—if it is published. The only book that will be taken from our shelves is the book that is judged unfit by a court of law. ⁶⁵

Although the fictional English archetype, Mrs. Grundy, no doubt would disapprove, Canadian reading tastes were becoming more cosmopolitan, less provincial or constrained.

Censorship problems did boil up sporadically and library boards were not immune to controversy. Some popular books—Xavier Hollander's *Happy Hooker: My Own Story* (1971) and Alex Comfort's *The Joy of Sex* (1972)—were admittedly in short supply on library shelves, whether by accident or design. Many boards adopted the intellectual freedom statement that the Canadian Library Association approved in 1974 in a renewed effort to strengthen library responses to objections to controversial books and films. It cited the Canadian Bill of Rights (1960) and included not only librarians but also employers, which OLA's 1963 statement had not referenced. Yet trustees had to keep a wary eye on controversial publications and prepare for challenges. When *Show Me! A Picture Book of Sex for Children and Parents* first appeared in 1975, customs officials held shipments at the border until a federal official decided to allow its entry into Canada. Then, the book became subject to a lengthy provincial court proceeding in Ontario with crown prosecutors seeking a ruling that it was obscene. Finally, after hearing arguments ranging from the book's 'Nazi origins' to its beneficence, in mid-1976 a judge rejected obscenity charges. Now *Show Me!* could circulate freely; however, it was not a priority purchase in many public libraries due to its controversial nature.

⁶⁴ "Draft Statement on Intellectual Freedom," in *OLA Proceedings*, 1963, 13.

⁶⁵ David Karry, "The Public Library Trustee—Here Today, Gone Tomorrow?" in *Trustee Papers* (Barrie, Ont.: Georgian Bay Regional Library System, 1979), 18-22.

⁶⁶ John Beaufoy, "Show Me! Is Not Obscene, but May Shock Many People, Judge Says" *Globe and Mail*, July 17, 1976, 5.

A few years later, in 1979, North York trustees resisted an effort to remove the magazine, *Body Politic*, from two branch libraries when alderman Ron Summers raised complaints that he felt "The lifestyle it's promoting is contrary to the moral fibre of our society." Not many organized groups pursued boards in court cases, as did the Church of Scientology in 1974. The Church served writs on the Hamilton and Etobicoke boards, but withdrew them later. Ironically, almost all material debated as obscene or objectionable was, in fact, legally published or distributed. It was disappointing that both the Mississauga Public Library and Mississauga Council ruled the BBC television film, *The Naked Civil Servant*, based on the life of the homosexual Quentin Crisp, would not be shown in a library film series in early 1978 e ven though its content conformed to library policy. As public libraries entered the 1980s, censorship controversies continued, perhaps with less ferocity. When Toronto Public Library clashed with city council in 1985 over retention of the *Rapist File*, part of the controversy revolved around the city's urge to appoint a library trustee to be more sensitive to censorship issues, an idea that the library board quickly rejected.

These 'political' situations illustrate some types of power and the restricted realm of influence that boards have worked within during the postwar era. When trouble occurs, a cautious approach is normally taken because the charge that trustees are not directly answerable to the electorate may undermine even the strongest position by undercutting authority, a vital commodity. In financial disputes limited economic power constrains many boards. At a service level, many people remain indifferent to the library's programs—nonusers outnumber users. Public issues, such as censorship, and media coverage tend to focus on specific cases, not the generally acknowledged library role of providing access to materials reflecting all types of views. Few people realize that the heated debates on library funding involve less than five percent of the total municipal tax levy. For every quarrel there are many peaceful agreements, a situation that trustees work toward, but one that yields meager public visibility within community life.

⁶⁷ "Access to Body Politic Probed by Librarians," Globe and Mail, December 27, 1980, 5.

⁶⁸ "Scientology versus the Public Library," *Quill & Quire* 40 (1974): 28 and "Scientologists Withdraw Suits against Public Libraries," *Quill & Quire* 41 (1975): 15.

⁶⁹ "Homosexual Film Ban Appalling - Professor," *Toronto Star*, March 28, 1978, A4; and Alvin Schrader, "Community Pressure to Censor Gay and Lesbian Materials in the Public Libraries of Canada," in Norman G. Kester, ed., *Liberating Minds: The Stories and Professional Lives of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Librarians and Their Advocates* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1997), 149-50.

⁷⁰ Alden Baker, "Anti-porn Group to be Represented on Library Board," *Globe and Mail*, July 16, 1985, 16; and Alden Baker, "Porn Watchdog not Needed, Library Board Chairman Says," *Globe and Mail*, July 17, 1985, 16.

⁷¹ For some interesting viewpoints by Kitchener's Chief Librarian, Brian Dale, see "Library Finally Lets Playboy in," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, July 24, 1971, 3.

The structure of library board authority, power, or influence and the political exchanges that take place in local government constitutes a complex topic. Only main points have been touched on in this section. Many trustees have cited the issue of trust between the public and boards as a beneficial element of support. Building trust is a long-term undertaking, but certainly worth the effort. It has been suggested that library boards could serve as an example to encourage the development of human values in the wider community by their respect for diverse opinions, understanding through common goals, appropriate service attitudes, and consideration for the distinctiveness of local communities. 72 Traditionally, boards have relied on authority relationships based on statutory law and social acceptance concerning civic nonpartisanship. This is an attractive legitimizing position to many people at the municipal level. As such, power is not coercive; boards must count on persuasion, bargaining, and expertise. However, persuasive power is no guarantee of success and, of course, rules can be changed by the Legislature at any time. The economic power of boards has never been considerable. When the public library mill rate was originally introduced in 1882, the Premier, Oliver Mowat, said it was "so small to be almost unappreciable." Since 1966 control over budgetary allocations has actually been eroded in the interests of accountability to elected representatives.

The apolitical character of boards may change now that the legislative provisions allow council to make all appointments, the term of office coincides with council, and council has more supervision over finances. Because the influence, power, and authority of boards appears interchangeable to the public, any perception that boards are becoming politicized may lead to a decline in authority and power relationships. It seems boards will have to rely less on statutory clauses and use interactive processes—citizen participation, community needs assessments, public relations, etc.—to accomplish their agendas. Because the original legal foundations for board governance have disappeared, the expertise that boards are able to develop in these new areas, together with the personal connections trustees can cultivate, will determine the course of future events. It seems that a new political paradigm will develop around board influence rather than its authority.

⁷² Lorraine M. Williams, "Fostering Human Values on a Library Board," *Canadian Library Journal* 43 (1986): 255-57.

⁷³ Legislative report by *Toronto Globe*, March 1, 1882, 12.

5. INTERGOVERNMENTAL PLANNING FOR PUBLIC LIBRARIES, 1945-85

Assume the challenge of rebuilding service levels in Ontario. Because trustees were not organized politically in an independent body that could offer a unified voice to the provincial government or lobby effectively on vital matters, the Trustees Section of the Ontario Library Association became the focus of activity, a forum where issues could be deliberated and then presented either to the Association Executive or to annual conventions. When a Reconstruction Committee appointed by the OLA began work as early as 1943 on library planning, its members realized the committee was not dealing from a position of strength. More than one-third of the provincial population was unserved. The Depression and the war years had disrupted service in many communities. The total legislative grant had not increased measurably since 1895. The provincial Inspector of Libraries, Angus Mowat, addressed the difficulties that lay ahead in his 1945 annual report to the Dept. of Education:

The truth is that our libraries as a whole are too weak to carry the burden imposed on them. Almost all are in too depressed a state, financially, to provide sufficient book s tocks or to organize and distribute their material to the best advantage. Too few professionally qualified librarians are employed and, these are, for the most part, paid salaries which are absurdly low in comparison with those received by teachers with equal qualifications. Nearly all the buildings in which public libraries are housed,—some city buildings excepted—are relics of a bygone age, ill-lighted, ill-ventilated, unsanitary.

Mowat's description may be considered 'a bit' melodramatic; nonetheless, few service improvements had taken place since the onset of the Great Depression. The subsequent forty years would see dramatic progress.²

The OLA presented a brief to the Minister of Education in March 1944³ and then to a Royal Commission on Education (the Hope Commission) in 1945.⁴ The Association urged an

¹ Ontario Dept. of Education, Report of the Minister of Education, 1945 (Toronto, 1946), 75.

² For a more detailed history about this chapter, see Lorne Bruce, *Places to Grow: Public Libraries and Communities in Ontario, 1930-2000* (Guelph, 2010), 123-394.

³ Ontario Library Association, *Library Needs of the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: OLA, 1944), reprinted in *Ontario Library Review* 28 (1944): 165-168.

⁴ Ontario Library Association, *Brief on Libraries in Ontario Presented to the Royal Commission on Education* (Toronto: OLA, 1945), reprinted in *Ontario Library Review* 30 (1946): 7-10.

expanded, active provincial role in the provision of service, a request that would be repeated regularly for the next four decades. The main thrust of the OLA's plan was relatively simple. First, a stronger, better-funded provincial administrative organization that would be responsible for maintaining standards of service, certification of personnel, and the operation of a large provincial resource library. Second, a coordinated province-wide system of public libraries encouraging larger units of service in cities, metropolitan areas, counties, districts or regional areas, together with legislation to abolish association libraries. Third, a development program for training in librarianship at the University of Toronto Library School, as well as a certification process for librarians in public libraries. Fourth, better funding, namely increased provincial grants based on per capita expenditures and professional standards, a subsidized building program, and more money for the Public Libraries Branch of the Dept. of Education.

For a number of reasons, the Hope Commission did not complete its work until 1950. Most of the improvements that occurred immediately after the war were due to the energetic direction of Angus Mowat and his small staff in the Public Libraries Branch of the Dept. of Education. In July 1946, he issued an important memorandum and new regulations that revamped provincial grant assistance and improved educational qualifications for library personnel.⁵ It outlined a schedule of grants calculated on a percentage of per capita municipal expenditure in communities of different populations. More money became available to promote services on an 'earned' basis to replace small conditional grants for books. New grants of \$100 to \$600 were based on approved qualifications set forth in Departmental regulations designating certificate classes A, B, and C for librarians, and classes D or E for other library personnel. The University of Toronto Library School offered regular programs for A, B, and C certificates and began to run a few short summer courses for D and E class library service certificates until 1954 when they were withdrawn in favour of graduate and baccalaureate degrees. 6 After this time, the Department continued its own summer courses for the E certificate, but the D certificate was discontinued. The immediate impact of the new regulations was to allow the maximum grant that one board (e.g. Toronto) could receive to jump to \$50,000 in 1946 from about \$2,800 in 1945.

Belated legislation also passed in 1947 f ormalizing the creation of county library cooperatives that had existed in association form since 1932. In addition, the legislation provided for cooperatives in territorial districts. The board of a county or district cooperative departed from the traditional governance model. In counties, a board was composed of the warden and six other members appointed by county council, three of whom were county councillors. In districts,

⁵ Regulations Made under the Public Libraries Act Respecting Public Libraries (Ontario Regulations 67/46), published in the *Ontario Gazette* on June 22, 1946.

⁶ See Bertha Bassam, *The Faculty of Library Science University of Toronto and its Predecessors* 1911-1972 (Toronto: University of Toronto Faculty of Library Science, 1978), 46-47 and 67-68.

a board was composed of seven members, four appointed by the members of the cooperative and three by the Minister of Education. In recognition of the leadership role Mowat had assumed, the Department changed his title to Director of Public Libraries in 1948. One year later, in 1949, statutory provision set the minimum local public library rate at 50 cents per capita to replace the old maximum established in 1920, and by majority vote councils could appropriate sums beyond the minimum without limitation. In four years, Mowat had set the tone for the Department's philosophy of service in the 1950s: "The government always thought libraries were mainly a municipal responsibility, and in my antiquated way, I should think properly so."

When the Hope Commission report finally appeared in 1950, there were expectations that its recommendations would lead to a different perspective concerning library service because the essential proposals endorsed by the 1945 OLA brief were adopted. However, no studies or action took place to develop this plan, although the OLA's Provincial Library Committee and Hope Commission Committee urged the Dept. of Education to appoint a Provincial Librarian and make a study of existing resources in Ontario:

After such studies, the Provincial Librarian would then be in a position to make recommendations to the Government as to the best way of organizing the Provincial Library to make the fullest use of existing resources without duplication and to extend library services in fields not now covered by any existing library.¹¹

This hope was not realized, nor was an alternative library scheme brought forward for several years.

Lack of knowledge about the infrastructure of other Canadian provincial jurisdictions, or about American federal and state aid activities, was not the reason for inactivity. The long-standing Ontario tradition of local autonomy, combined with cautious leadership in the Dept. of Education, created a barrier to any type of centralized service or expensive plans for surveys, goal setting, program implementation, or evaluation. The Minister in charge of the Dept. of Education from 1951 to 1959, William J. Dunlop, was quite conservative in his outlook. Both he and his Chief Director, John G. Althouse, had been interested in the field of adult education for

⁷ The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1947, 11 Geo. VI. c. 86.

⁸ The Statute Law Amendment Act, 1949, 13 Geo. VI c. 95 s. 11.

⁹ "Co-operatives Aid Rural Libraries," *Globe and Mail*, April 21, 1961, 7.

¹⁰ Ontario Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario 1950* (Toronto, 1951), 149-155.

¹¹ Ontario Library Association Provincial Library Committee, *Report to the Executive, February 1, 1952* (Toronto: OLA, 1952), reprinted as Appendix C in William S. Wallace, *Report on Provincial Library Service in Ontario* (Toronto: Dept. of Education, 1957), 47-51.

many years, ¹² but during their tenure of office few library initiatives occurred. They were satisfied with the customary philosophy that allowed unconditional transfer payments to play a primary role in place of regulatory practices (e.g. standards), direct provincial assistance, or ongoing policy analysis. As a result, either increased provincial funding based on different types of formulas or encouragement for the creation of free public library or county cooperative boards, in lieu of association libraries, continued as the basis for expanding services throughout Ontario during most of the 1950s.

Overall, provincial-municipal affairs were more important in the Premier's office. The Conservative Premier, Leslie Frost, kept an eye on the 'big picture.' He announced in 1951 that the government was forming a Provincial-Municipal Relations Committee to examine health, education, transportation, law, and social services. The OLA struck its own Provincial-Municipal Committee to submit a brief with and urge implementation of the Hope Report. OLA's new committee went to work and presented statistics to show that libraries accounted for less than 1% of the Department of Education's expenditures and about 1.3% of municipal expenditures and offered several important recommendations in October 1952. But the Premier's Provincial-Municipal Committee was primarily interested in major intergovernmental business, not library funding or problems. The one issue it raised as a municipal concern, the conditional grant, earned legislative money that public libraries had received for more than a half century, was considered 'business as usual' by Ontario trustees and the Dept. of Education.

The inclusion of trustees on O LA committees was now a regular practice and the Trustees Section was becoming a larger group within the Association. The political nature of these committees dictated the need for prominent trustees, such as Charles Evans (Chatham), George Hamilton (Niagara Falls), Vivien Kerr (Windsor), Newman Mallon (Toronto), and Agnes (Lancefield) Montagu Leeds from Barrie, to be proactive agents developing practices and promoting services. The establishment of 'best practices' for trustees was an important element in the development of Canadian libraries during the 1950s when local officials retained close ties in small municipalities. Some Ontario trustees participated in the Canadian Library Association's Trustee group (formed in 1947) as well. Together, they shared common interests, especially trustee education and training, by emphasizing basic trustee tasks, for example:

- knowledge of legislation, budgets, government policies on libraries, library standards, salaries, etc.;
- asking thoughtful questions at board meetings;

¹² See J.G. Althouse, "Role of the Library in Continuing Education," *Ontario Library Review* 31 (1947): 373-375.

¹³ "Brief for Presentation to Provincial-Municipal Committee," *Ontario Library Review* 36 (1952): 144-46.

- •careful selection of staff:
- •keeping influential groups acquainted and interested;
- securing sufficient funds;
- recruiting good persons for board membership. 14

There was less attention to the changing patterns of provincial and municipal relationships in the expanding postwar economy. Frequently, local matters consumed monthly board meeting and trustees usually gave assent to broader issues reported at OLA or CLA meetings.

The Trend toward Regional Development

The main contribution to planning by library trustees during this period was to work jointly with professional librarians in the preparation of OLA briefs to recommend improved grants or policies from the Dept. of Education. On a few occasions, the Trustee Section of the OLA prepared resolutions on funding or legislation; for example, at the 1953 c onference the issues of increasing grants and clarifying a section of the Act to allow boards to purchase mobile units without council approval were put forward for action. Furthermore, the Trustees Section provided a compass to steer library advancement, usually by exhortations at OLA's annual meetings. One such speech by George Hamilton aptly summarized library activity at the outset of the 1950s.

To summarize what lies ahead for trustees, let me recapitulate my various points:

- (1) Trustees must direct their efforts towards developing better public relations.
- (2) They must work to extend library services in their communities understanding that this institution is the most important means for adult education that exists today.
- (3) They must seek other sources of revenue: (i) Endowments, (ii) An extension of provincial support, (iii) Demand that the Federal Government meet its obligations in this connection.
- (4) They must exert a greater influence politically.
- (5) They must actively support the development of national library services. ¹⁶ It was a broad agenda that many trustees found a bit daunting when they assessed their own specific local challenges.

By 1955, however, it was evident some of the plans expounded in the 1944-45 briefs and the Hope Commission had been outstripped by events. Efforts to establish the new National

¹⁴ For example, the keynote address by Helen Harris at CLA's Halifax conference, *A Lordly Task:* What Constitutes Good Library Service (Ottawa: CLA, 1959). 1-6.

¹⁵ OLA Proceedings 1953, reprinted in Ontario Library Review 37 (1953): 167.

¹⁶ George H. Hamilton, "What Lies Ahead for Library Trustees?" *Ontario Library Review* 34 (1950): 175.

Library were underway in Ottawa. Many of the central functions that had been envisaged for a Provincial Library in Toronto were being assumed at the federal level. For planning, Queen's Park was beginning to promote a province-wide program of regional development to reduce regional disparities, especially in the economic sector. In view of these circumstances, the OLA pressed for an entirely new library review in a brief, *The Need for a Provincial Library*, presented to the Department in December 1955. The brief concluded:

This would not necessarily entail the setting up of a completely new library, nor require, at this stage, a new building. The Province of Ontario already has within its jurisdiction valuable book collections. The larger public libraries might be able to do more for their smaller neighbours if they were part of a clearly defined provincial system. We strongly advise against unnecessary duplication. ¹⁷

Although this type of centralized activity rubbed against the grain of the Department's *laissez-faire* philosophy, exemplified by its head, William J. Dunlop, the OLA was pleasantly surprised to learn the Department agreed to conduct a review.

The Dept. of Education asked the retired Chief Librarian of the University of Toronto, William S. Wallace, to conduct a study in early 1956. He had chaired the OLA Reconstruction Committee during the war. In many respects, the slim report Wallace submitted in January 1957 (the main section was less than fifteen pages in length) was designed more as a practical compromise than a comprehensive survey. Wallace rejected the concept of a Provincial Library and suggested the Department provide more direction with four simple recommendations:

- the Public Libraries Branch should be renamed Provincial Library Service (PLS) and the Director be renamed Director of PLS;
- the new PLS should inaugurate an interlibrary loan system to serve smaller libraries and an 'Open Shelf' system (books-by-mail) to areas without library service;
- the staff in the PLS should be increased by an Inspector of Public and Regional Libraries, a Provincial Children's Librarian, and at least three assistants;
- improved accommodation for the Public Libraries Branch should be arranged to facilitate its enlarged duties. ¹⁸

The Wallace report recommendations were not comprehensive by any means.

Dr. Wallace had confined his study to the Public Libraries Branch and estimated the immediate cost to the Department would be only \$30,000 a year. Moreover, the problems of administrative structures, grants, and legislation were left unresolved. Immediate action was

¹⁸ Wallace, *Report*, 26.

¹⁷ Ontario Library Association, *The Need for a Provincial Library*, (Toronto: OLA, 1955), reprinted as Appendix D in Wallace, *Report on Provincial Library Service*, 52-57.

postponed for a year while the Department gathered more information for W.J. Dunlop and his successor in 1959, John P. Robarts, to deal with the problems that the years of inactivity had spawned. All of Wallace's recommendations were implemented in stages beginning in April 1959 when the PLS came into being officially. The revamped PLS included the Travelling Library service for schools and small community groups, the Teachers' Reference Library for rural areas, and the staff of the old Public Libraries Branch. ¹⁹ However, realistically the PLS did not have the resources or staff to satisfactorily deliver interlibrary loan service or operate an 'open shelf' system throughout the province. Much of its time was consumed by service to schools and dealing with day-to-day inquiries about grants and legal issues.

There was a growing amount of disenchantment with the Department's leadership at this time. The 1946 gr ant formula had improved conditions, but it had been based largely on population. There were some problems with this formula. In the case of Toronto, an arbitrary \$60,000 ceiling imposed in 1950 limited the board to about one-quarter of what it could usually expect to receive. From time to time, Toronto complained about this fact to the Minister, who replied on one occasion in the Legislature:

What I promised the mayor and his board of control was that I would submit the request to the treasury board. The little village of Tara, in Bruce county, I am sorry to say, gets a grant of \$93.12 and here is Toronto wanting \$214,000. I do not know what the hon. member from Bruce will say about that.²⁰

Another drawback was the inability of many communities to earn the full grant amount in most years because legislative appropriations were calculated on statistics gathered in the previous year. Normally, the total grant was inadequate to satisfy all libraries; thus, only a percentage of the earned grant could be transferred to each library. Finally, the size of the library expenditure rankled more than a few people in the library community. An OLA Special Committee on Library Legislation was quick to point out in 1959 that at no time had grants exceeded one percent of the total Departmental expenditure. In fact, in reviewing **Table 6**, it is evident that this analysis occurred shortly after the percentage had reached its highest point in the entire period, 1945-1971.

At the same time, in Toronto the energy of trustees and library workers was turning away from provincial concerns to the potential of metropolitan regional planning. For many years trustees in Toronto and its burgeoning suburbs had looked to remedial planning through the lens of a Toronto-centered region which eventually came into existence in 1954. The Province

¹⁹ W.A. Roedde, "Provincial Library Service," Quill &Quire 25 (April-May 1959): 21.

²⁰ Legislature of Ontario Debates, March 12, 1957, 998.

²¹ Ontario Library Association, Special Committee on Library Legislation, *Library Legislation and Regulations Background Material*, partially reprinted in *Ontario Library Review* 43 (1959): 188-192.

enacted legislation, the *Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act, 1953*, to form a two-tier system of government by joining the city of Toronto with four towns, three villages, and five urbanized townships. By this Act, library services—free libraries and association boards—remained a local government duty. Due to the efforts of the Toronto Public Library Board, in 1958 an amendment to the Metropolitan Toronto Act of 1953, which had introduced regional government in the Toronto area, allowed Metro Council to make grants to any board providing services to other area municipalities. Many of the boards were small and unable to fulfill such a function. Under this arrangement, Toronto Public Library received \$25,000 in 1958/59 and \$100,000 in 1960/61, considerable amounts compared to provincial totals.

In November 1958 the Metro Council also authorized a working group of trustees, the Council of Library Trustees of Toronto and District (formed in 1954), to prepare a survey of services in the thirteen area municipalities. The study, often referred to as the Shaw Report after its author, Dr. Ralph Shaw, was released in June 1960. Afterwards, Metro Council set up a Special Committee to make recommendations on implementing Shaw's recommendations. It was composed of nine members—three Metro Council appointees, three members from the Council of Trustees, and three from the two Toronto school boards. The result of this political process eventually melded Toronto libraries into a unique regional structure. Metro trustees looked to Metro Council, or a regional library board, to play the central role in planning, rather than to the OLA or the PLS. Thus, support for the establishment of a Toronto-based provincial library utility for reference or technical service, a common concept after 1945, began to wane.

The OLA presented another brief to John Robarts in June 1960 calling for the Department to establish a commission composed of two librarians, one trustee, and "such experts as the government would deem helpful." The commission would investigate urban and rural library service with a view to permit and encourage grouping local boards into effective systems. The Minister was attentive, but no commissioners were appointed. A few years later, Vernon Singer, a Liberal MPP for York Centre riding who had served on the North York Library Board, raised the question of funding library service in the Legislature:

²³ Ralph Shaw, Libraries of Metropolitan Toronto: A Study of Library Service Prepared for the Library Trustees' Council of Toronto and District (Toronto: s.n., 1960).

²² The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Amendment Act, 1958, 6-7 Eliz. II c. 68 s. 13.

²⁴ "Report No.1 of Special Committee to Study and Report on Survey of Library Services in Metropolitan Toronto" was adopted as amended by Metro Council on Nov. 28, 1961: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, *Minutes*, 2455-2471. Council's amendment on the recommendation to form a regional board shelved efforts to create a board. The *Report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto*, 1965 (Toronto, 1965), 65-67 reaffirmed the need for a Metro board.

²⁵ Ontario Library Association, *Brief Submitted to the Minister of Education, April 1960* (Toronto: OLA, 1960), reprinted in *Ontario Library Review* 44 (1960): 164-166.

We spend these large sums teaching our young people how to learn and then lose without providing the library facilities through which they can profit from that investment.

It seems to me it is just like building the power plant at Niagara Falls then using all that power that is generated to light a single 25-watt bulb. 26

Singer was not surprised that his remark did not trigger any new legislative developments, but his efforts to advocate for better service were not in vain.

The press picked up on Singer's colourful analogy and the fact that the PLS had been unable to fill a position to help the new Director, William A. Roedde, for more than a year because the salary set by the Treasury Board was inadequate. Lack of provincial leadership and weak organization were cited as main problems holding back improvements in service. ²⁷ John Robarts, who continued to hold the Education portfolio after he became Premier in 1961, defended his Department's record in April 1962 after listening to an opposition member read a newspaper article, "Our Starving Libraries," into the Legislative Hansard:

I can assure the hon. members that as Minister I meet with the library associations frequently during the year. It breaks down into various sub-groups and they come in to see me. Frankly, they want more money at all times. They want more money for more libraries, more books, increased facilities. We are sympathetic to this, but there is a limit to what we can do.²⁸

The Premier, of course, was busy with many government initiatives, but some incremental progress was being made.

In fact, between 1957 and 1963 the Dept. of Education was building on the Wallace report with its cautious, measured encouragement of larger units of service.²⁹ The creation of Regional Library Co-operatives in northern Ontario was legalized in 1957, county libraries and union boards were better provided for in 1959, and regional library cooperative boards for groupings of counties in southern Ontario finally were allowed in 1963. The formation of new boards in small school sections and township school areas was discontinued in 1962. Legislation allowing association libraries lingered, partly because some exceptional communities (e.g. Deep River) were reasonably successful in organizing this type of service.³⁰ However, generally speaking, the number of small, relatively ineffective boards was steadily reduced in this period (see **Table 1**).

²⁶ Legislature of Ontario Debates, March 27, 1961, 2588.

²⁷ "Finds Lack of Leadership Delaying Library Advance," *Globe and Mail*, April 20, 1961, 7.

²⁸ Legislature of Ontario Debates, April 16, 1962, 2410.

²⁹ The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1957, 5-6 Eliz. II c. 100; The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1959, 7-8 Eliz. II c. 82; The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1961-62, 10-11 Eliz. II c. 118; and The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1962-63, 11-12 Eliz. II c. 115.

³⁰ "Doomed as a Relic, Library Still Thrives," *Globe and Mail*, April 3, 1961, 4.

The overall accent in the Provincial Library Service was to encourage cooperative development without restricting control at the municipal level. This approach involved a certain amount of centralized decision-making that even Angus Mowat, who had firmly believed in preserving local autonomy, reluctantly accepted in an interview in 1961:

But I don't like it. I don't regret the faith I put in library boards. Many have proved it was justified, but there is a large residue of poor libraries that must catch up. I don't think it can be done without more central control.³¹

The keywords in the movement toward regionalized library boards were co-operation and coordination. The 1960 OLA brief asking the Department to set up a commission had stated the case succinctly in this regard: "This body would determine the most effective basis for the co-operation and co-ordination of library services in order to provide all people living in Ontario with service to a standard recommended by the Canadian Library Association." ³²

During the next two decades, much would be written and spoken about these twin ideas; however, the terms were often used interchangeably in library planning. Yet they are not synonymous and the implications for building administrative systems are important. The emphasis in a co-operative system is on the joint accomplishment by autonomous members of their individual goals. Coordination stresses the realization of collective goals within a shared decision-making environment adopted by the membership.³³ **Table 7** shows some significant planning differences were never resolved within the framework of regional library cooperatives that were established in the late 1950s and 1960s.

The new Minister of Education, William G. Davis, addressed the provincial government's expectations on integrated library development at the 1963 OLA Kitchener conference:

Regional library co-operatives are extensions of local or municipal control of library service. The regional is a co-operative of independent library boards; the regional board is elected by the member libraries but is assisted financially by the Province. With the successful development of several regional co-operatives, the Department of Education will consider new methods of assistance. At present our plan consists of encouraging regional development, and advising the new boards, as well as the provision of grants designed to enable relatively rapid formation of approximately twelve regional co-operatives in Ontario.

We expect that the regional boards and the director will co-operate among

³¹ "Single Experimental County Library Proposed," *Globe and Mail*, April 25, 1961, 7.

³² OLA, Brief Submitted to the Minister of Education, April 1960, 165.

³³ These definitions from David L. Rogers and David A. Whetten, *Interorganizational Coordination: Theory, Research and Implementation* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1982), 11-17.

themselves, and will establish links with university libraries when required, as well as with the National Library. This will be the responsibility of the boards themselves, but we can see that it is in this way that proper division and coordination of responsibilities will develop.³⁴

In the expanding affairs of provincial-municipal relationships, the Minister realized that the Department had to consider its options carefully.

The St. John Report and the Public Libraries Act, 1966

To allow planned growth to occur, in the same speech William Davis offered to finance studies in conjunction with the OLA. The outcome of this offer was the St. John Report completed in 1965. Many of the trends that had appeared in the 1950s were rationalized in the St. John Report and codified in the 1966 Public Libraries Act. Larger units of service continued to be encouraged on a permissive basis. Association libraries were dissolved and their assets acquired by the new regional library boards. Small boards in school sections and police villages were dissolved and control transferred to library boards established by the municipality in which the former boards were situated. The youthful regional library cooperatives were renamed 'systems.' No more county library cooperatives could be formed; it was presumed their assets would eventually be transferred to county library boards. A new Ontario Provincial Library Council (OPLC) was created to make recommendations to the Minister with respect to the development and coordination of library service. Each regional system was to provide a plan for coordinating and developing service within the region and to submit a summary to the OPLC each year.

The 1966 Act allowed the PLS to continue playing a limited leadership role which suited the Department's traditional position. The major duties of the Director of PLS were to supervise the operation of the Act, to promote and encourage the extension of service, to serve as nonvoting Secretary of the OPLC, and administer grants to boards. The onus for successful planning fell to the OPLC and the regional boards. The legislative sections pertaining to these boards were crucial considering the central functions they were expected to play.³⁵ Regional boards were composed of:

- one trustee appointed by public library boards in municipalities in excess of 15,000 people in the region;
- one trustee appointed by each county board in the region;
- if the total of clauses 1 and 2 was less than nine trustees, the Minister could appoint

³⁴ William G. Davis, "Community, Regional and Provincial Library Service," in *OLA Proceedings* 1963, 1-5.

³⁵ *The Public Libraries Act*, 1966, 14-15 Eliz. II c. 128 s. 32-44.

sufficient members to form a board of nine members; and

• if the total of clauses 1 to 3 was less than nine trustees, a number of members could be elected by other library boards in the region to form a board of nine members.

The term of office was for one year, limited to five consecutive years. To a great extent, municipal population determined representation. Boards could be larger than nine members, but the traditional size was considered the most stable for conducting business.

The board of the OPLC was simpler in composition. It consisted of nine members appointed by the Minister, and one member appointed by the board of each region. The term of office for Ministerial appointees was set at six years, the term for regional appointments at one year. The OPLC normally had twenty-three members and its representative character was mostly based on geographic considerations. In both of the schemes trustees from the larger centres normally predominated. Selected candidates at large represented smaller communities. The participation of members serving on municipal or school authorities was unusual, and direct appointments by these bodies not provided for because the Province outside Metro Toronto mostly funded regional systems.

The regional boards possessed broad objectives and many were held over from the amended 1963 Act. Regional boards were empowered:

- to establish a collection of reference books and other items as the basis of a reference service for the region;
- to promote interlibrary loan;
- to establish a central service and determine services that might be provided by one or more libraries for a) selecting, ordering, cataloguing, processing materials, b) providing an advisory service, c) providing educational programs for adults, d) providing educational programs for library personnel, e) other similar services;
- to charge fees for supplying any library service and determine costs;
- to undertake responsibilities for providing interlibrary loan and other services throughout Ontario with Ministerial approval; and
- to appoint a regional director of library service.

These powers seemed sufficient but, in many ways, they were a departure from conventional Ontario library activities and they did not satisfy many trustees or librarians who had invested effort in establishing a Provincial Library. A decentralized system could tailor to local needs more adequately; however, consistency across the province would be sacrificed. Further, there would be a tremendous need for experienced trustees to guide the regional boards. There was

³⁶ Northern trustees asked for additional representation from Territorial Districts: see Northwestern Regional Library System, *Proceedings of the Conference of Trustees of the Northwestern Regional Library System, Quetico Centre, 27th-29th October, 1967* (Fort William, 1967), unpaged.

enthusiasm for regional meetings and conferences, trustees were still inclined to place more emphasis on education and training opportunities inherent in regionalization.³⁷ Planning and systematic cooperative action on a regional basis, such as resource sharing, remained unclear in the mid-1960s.

Aside from these powers, the ground rules for boards were rather vague: the transaction of budgets, formal planning of services, and consultation necessary between member boards was not clarified. Municipalities could contract for services or help finance a regional board, but, with the exception of Metro Toronto, it was more realistic to expect that the majority of funds would come from member boards or the Province. Doubts were expressed about the suitability of legislation regarding regional systems from the very beginning. ³⁸ Often, regional trustees and OPLC members were more concerned with parochial interests than broader regional perspectives. The actual population size and geographic boundaries of the fourteen systems in 1967 were based on the *ad hoc* groupings of co-operatives formed in northern districts and southern counties between 1957-1966. The cooperative boards had not really had an opportunity to develop to any extent, especially in southern Ontario.

In many respects, the new systems were similar to Regional Development Associations that the Province also supported financially. Table 8 gives the comparative dates and areas for library regions and development associations (renamed councils in 1966). At first, the new regional systems were successful in expanding the range of services begun in the cooperatives. A few regional boards commissioned studies to help plan and coordinate services. For example, in Midwestern, emphasis was placed on a processing centre and subsequent regional development reinforced this decision; in Niagara, the regional board spent a good portion of its budget on resources and contracted with St. Catharines for book processing before establishing its own cataloguing and processing centre in 1971. Elsewhere, most of the regional boards formed

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³⁷ Robert R. Steele, "Why Regional Conferences of Trustees?" *Ontario Library Review* 49 (1965): 8-10.

³⁸ For example, Toronto Public Library, *Reading in Toronto 1966: 83rd Annual Report of the Toronto Public Library Board* (Toronto: TPL, 1967), 3-4; and Charles D. Kent, "All is Not Well in Library Circles," *Municipal World* 78 (1968): 330.

³⁹ See W.A. Roedde, "Regional and Public Library Development in Ontario," *Municipal World* 74 (1964): 370-372; and Charles D. Kent, *The Lake Erie Regional Library Co-operative Board*, 1964-1966: A Summation (London: London Public Library and Art Museum, 1967).

⁴⁰ For Midwestern, see Francis R. St. John Library Consultants, *Mid-western Regional Library Co-operative: A Plan for Library Development, 1966* (New York: St. John Library Consultants, 1966); and Donald Hendricks, *Centralized Processing and Regional Library Development: The Midwestern Regional Library System, Kitchener, Ontario* (Kitchener: Midwestern Regional Library System, 1970). For Niagara, see Albert Bowron, *A Study of the Niagara Regional Library System* (Toronto: Information, Media & Planners, 1970).

advisory committees composed of the chief librarians from major municipalities and proceeded to establish policies for services that satisfied regional interests in terms of administrative planning.

However, at the very time when regional systems were beginning to formalize their structures and organize programs, Queen's Park was turning its attention away from regional development planning toward localized county government reviews and a thorough reevaluation of the delivery of provincial services. The goals expressed in grander regional development plans, like the *Design for Development* program between 1966 and 1976, were destined to be largely unrealized. Specific government reviews designed to strengthen local government within county boundaries or to simplify the administration of provincial taxation and transfer payments were regarded as more fruitful ways to create effective and efficient government. In this overall environment, the emphasis was on restructuring local boundaries, accountability to elected officials, and strengthening municipal powers rather than implementing cooperative plans with the more cumbersome development councils for which provincial financing was withdrawn in 1972.⁴¹

There were dramatic changes in store as well for the sphere of education. Both the organizational boundaries of local boards of education and the content of education were being reassessed and redesigned. The consolidation of smaller school boards begun in 1964 was in progress. The newly formed Dept. of University Affairs was beginning to direct expansion in the field of post-secondary education. The Dept. of Education was examining all aspects of education in a Provincial Committee on A ims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario (the Hall-Dennis Committee) established in 1965. Thus, new programs, new funding formulas, and new administrative agencies were reshaping Ontario's educational system by the late 1960s. Library planning was hard pressed to keep pace.

Reassessing Government Services, 1967-1980

The repercussions from these provincially sponsored studies were to disrupt planning efforts on the part of libraries and frequently redefine the library agenda during the next decade. When the final report of the Ontario Committee on Taxation (the Smith Committee) appeared in 1967 after four years of work, it categorized libraries as 'amenities' and argued that the schedule of legislative grants for libraries constituted "a degree of complexity that is out of proportion to

⁴¹ N.H. Richardson, "Insubstantial Pageant: the Rise and Fall of Provincial Planning in Ontario," *Canadian Public Administration* 24 (1981): 563-586 reviews this period, along with C.R. Tindal, "Regional Development in Ontario," *Canadian Public Administration* 16 (1973): 110-123.

its monetary yield."⁴² The Smith Report envisaged twenty-nine future regional governments that would form the structure for local government in Ontario. To streamline financial affairs, the report recommended that library grant formulas be simplified and become part of a large community cultural transfer payment to the proposed regional municipal councils. The immediate responses from libraries to a Select Committee of the Legislature studying the report were mostly negative: for example, the OLA brief to the Select Committee dismissed the report's regional divisions as "not practical."⁴³ The Select Committee review recommended that libraries not be included in lump sum transfers to regional governments in September 1968.⁴⁴ The immediate impact of the Smith Report was to simplify the legislative grant in 1970 by basing it on a per capita formula.

The Smith Committee's decision to deconditionalize grants was unpopular and the relationship of libraries within the projected twenty-nine regional governments uncertain. Both these issues persisted in the 1970s. The government, especially the new Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, did not intend to let the matter of conditional library grants rest. When the 1973 and 1974 Ontario Budget statements proposed to deconditionalize grants, trustees, the OPLC, and the OLA raised a predictable round of protest. The Treasurer, John White, reluctantly postponed his Ministry's plan. The final skirmish occurred in 1977 after the *Report of the Provincial-Municipal Grants Reform Committee* (the Stevenson Committee) reviewed the arguments raised in 1974 by local boards and library associations:

They argued that local councils attached a low priority to library activities and would reduce their financial support if specific Provincial grants to library boards were terminated. The evidence suggests that this would not likely be the case. 46

The Stevenson Report recommended the elimination of grants to municipal library boards and the transfer of library services to municipal councils. Naturally, library boards across the province protested vociferously. Thomas Wells, the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, read a letter from the Scarborough Public Library Board into the Legislative record on November 6, 1978. Wells stated that the Province's boards faced a quandary: "They are very worried that if their grants are deconditionalized their service will be somehow interfered with and perhaps will

⁴² Ontario Committee on Taxation, *Report* (Toronto, 1967), vol. 2, 435.

⁴³ Ontario Library Association, A Brief Presented to the Honourable John P. Robarts, Prime Minister of Ontario, with Respect to the Report of the Ontario Committee on Taxation 1967 (Toronto: 1968), unpaged photocopy.

Ontario Select Committee of the Legislature on the Report of the Ontario Committee on Taxation, *Taxation in Ontario: A Program for Reform* (Toronto, 1968), p. 126.

⁴⁵ For details on unconditional grants see Bowron, *Ontario Public Library*, 46-49. For regional government reviews see Stephen Cummings, "Public Libraries as Part of Ontario's Regional Reform," *Canadian Library Journal* 43 (1986): 39-47.

⁴⁶ Ontario Provincial-Municipal Grants Reform Committee, *Report of the Provincial-Municipal Grants Reform Committee* (Toronto, 1977), vol. 1, 110.

not continue at its same level."⁴⁷ This fact, plus the refusal of some cabinet ministers, such as James Auld and Robert Welch, to allow any general change in the method of transfer payments to libraries, effectively put an end to the debate.

The final issue raised by the Smith Committee, the relationship of boards within new regional governments, led to a number of solutions mostly based on local preferences rather than general administrative principles. In most cases, boards remained separate entities at the lowertier level, the customary arrangement. In one new region, Niagara, the Welland County Library Co-operative was dissolved on January 1, 1970 and its assets assumed by the Welland County Board of Education.⁴⁸ Only two Regions, Waterloo and Hamilton-Wentworth, placed the responsibility for boards at the upper-tier level, and in both instances a county library existed prior to the passage of regional Acts in 1972/73. In Waterloo, the county board was dissolved on January 1, 1973 and its assets vested in the Region, which became the board for statutory purposes. In practice, a regional committee composed of the mayors of four townships receiving service was in charge. 49 In Hamilton-Wentworth, the regional act allowed a ministerial order to reestablish the Wentworth County Library: Ontario Regulation 805/73 created the Wentworth Library Board on January 1, 1974 to serve all municipalities outside Hamilton and Dundas. The Regional Council then passed a by-law setting up a seven-member board composed of three regional councillors and a citizen from each of the four participating municipalities—Ancaster, Stoney Creek, Flamborough, and Glanbrook. 50

The different organizational arrangement made in these three new regions indicates the variety of political opinion and the difficulty in achieving consensus on library issues. Shortly after 1975, thorough reviews were conducted in each of the three regions to study the success of regional operations. The recommendations on libraries are presented in **Table 9**. With the exception of the desire to have councillors make direct decisions on library matters, the reviews did not present similar solutions to particular issues, even on school board appointments. This would suggest that existing local political preferences, rather than accepted administrative principles, exercised greater influence on the course of library planning. Thus, more pragmatic interests often stymied the concern of government administrators to increase the efficiency of provincial transfer payments and local government structure.

⁴⁷ Legislature of Ontario Debates, Nov. 6, 1978, 4610-11. Adding to the problem was the municipal practice of reducing local levies when provincial grants were substantially increased: see letter to the editor by A. Bowron in *Globe and Mail*, May 10, 1973, 6.

⁴⁸ Regional Municipality of Niagara Amendment Act, 1968-69, 17-18 Eliz. II c. 107 s. 172.

⁴⁹ Regional Municipality of Waterloo Act, 1972, 21 Eliz. II c. 105 s. 169

⁵⁰ Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth Act, 1973, 22-23 Eliz. II c. 74 s. 138.

The furor over the Smith Report had not subsided in 1968 when *Living and Learning*, the report of the Hall-Dennis Committee, made a few recommendations "more or less in passing" that set off a chain reaction in the library community. ⁵¹ The underlying philosophy of the Hall-Dennis Report was to integrate school and public library resources in communities; this would include placing all libraries under the jurisdiction of a board of education in communities where public library boards agreed that this should take place. ⁵² A political arrangement of this type, together with the following statement by the Minister of Education in June 1968, produced some unease:

I should point out that we have discussed this in the past couple of years, here in the House, with respect to combined facilities. This has been done in some communities, and we have encouraged it, although we have a report from a Mr. St. John who recommended, very strongly, that they were two separate functions, that is, the public library and the school library. I am not sure that I share this point of view necessarily ... But there are two schools of thought, and there are those who feel very strongly that we are really talking about two separate functions. As I have said before, I am not sure, really, that we are. ⁵³

Many MPPs shared the Minister's viewpoint.

However, the recommendations posed by the Hall-Dennis Report were mostly optional in nature. After a series of objections, on May I, 1969, William Davis stated, "Nothing concrete or specific is emerging, related to what might be the future structure for library development here in this Province." Although the issue of jurisdiction by boards of education subsided, the recommendations pertaining to integration of school and public library services were more lasting. There was mixed reaction to these proposals. It was felt that too much stress was placed on primary and secondary libraries, and not enough attention to integrating the resources available in university, college, and government libraries, which also could be used to serve the cause of life-long education. Some believed the goals of school and public libraries were too different; for example, adult use of school curriculum materials would not be frequent and public access to school collections would be restricted by classroom requirements or hours of service.

Because these arguments were not conclusive by any means, some municipalities studied

⁵¹ Susan Anderson, "The Lesson on Libraries in the Hall-Dennis Report," *Globe and Mail*, July 8, 1968, 7.

<sup>1968, 7.

52</sup> Ontario Provincial Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, *Living and Learning* (Toronto, 1968), 183.

⁵³ Legislature of Ontario Debates, June 6, 1968, 4085.

⁵⁴ Legislature of Ontario Debates, May 1, 1969, 3826.

⁵⁵ Charles D. Kent, *Ryerson Cake with Dewey Icing: Some Reflections on Living and Learning* (London: London Public Library and Art Museum, 1969), 1-8.

the rationale and feasibility of cooperative usage.⁵⁶ The Oakville Public Library Board and Halton County Board of Education opened a successful joint facility at the White Oaks Secondary School in 1973. Shortly before this, in 1971, the Province had established a Select Committee on the Utilization of Educational Facilities. It issued three interim reports before a final report appeared in 1975. The first interim report made two recommendations on school library usage by the community, but after receiving a number of briefs, the Committee concluded that further study was necessary to evaluate the adequacy and effectiveness of school library resources for the wider community.⁵⁷ By this time, the force of events had moved the PLS, the OPLC, and public libraries outside the jurisdiction of the Department of Education.

The circumstances leading up to this separation began in 1969. A provincial Committee on Government Productivity (COGP) began work in this year in recognition that government activity at all levels was becoming increasingly interdependent. The COGP recommended the establishment of broad policy sectors, such as Social Development, within which a number of ministries, formerly called departments (e.g. Education, College and University Affairs) would work together. In one report on government communications and information services, the Committee stated it "would endorse any effort by the Government that looked to greater involvement with libraries in its effort to disseminate information to the public." But, in fact, the COGP did not study public libraries to any extent. Its rationalization about restructuring the public service did immediately affect libraries.

In April 1972 the PLS was transferred to the Ministry of Colleges and Universities (MCU), thus ending a ninety year association with the Department of Education. The MCU had already begun a comprehensive study on the informal process of education in 1969 by setting up a Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario (the Wright Commission) which many libraries made submissions. The COPSE Report, *The Learning Society*, appeared in late 1972: it had much to say about the salutary role of libraries in the field of continuing education. The COPSE Report recommended better access to all publicly supported libraries, better services for native peoples, and more French language materials for Franco-Ontarians. It also stressed the need to improve the "library informational network and distribution system," especially with

⁵⁶ For example: Kitchener Public Library, *Public Libraries and School Libraries: Their Roles and Functions* (Kitchener, 1970); and Albert Bowron, *Coordination of Public Library Service and Secondary School Service in Mississauga* (Toronto: Information Media & Library Planners, 1972).

⁵⁷ Ontario Select Committee on the Utilization of Educational Facilities, *What Happens Next is Up to You* (Toronto, 1975), 55-57.

⁵⁸ Ontario Committee on Government Productivity, *Report to the Executive Council of the Government of Ontario on Communications and Information Services* (Toronto, 1972), 29.

regard to improving technology in library operations.⁵⁹

One of the background studies for the Commission suggested the creation of the Ontario Corporation for Information, a body to administer a province-wide bibliographic information system for all types of libraries and to provide participants with acquisitions, cataloguing, SDI services, and so on. 60 Although there had been previous expressions of support for this type of facility, 61 no recommendation was made in the Commission's final report, possibly because the background study was a bit superficial. The most important observation in *The Learning Society* concerned finances. Briefs to the Wright Commission from the OLA and individual libraries had repeatedly requested more money; indeed, trustees approached the Minister directly on this point. 62 The MCU acted swiftly by raising the conditional grant for library boards in 1973 by more than fifty percent from 65 cents to \$1.35 per capita.

Although many in the library community were comfortable in the newly created Cultural Affairs Division of the MCU, public libraries remained there for only three years. In late 1974 a new Ministry of Culture and Recreation (MCR) was established. The idea of placing libraries in a 'Ministry of Culture' had been debated at the 1971 OLA convention in London, but in 1975 the PLS was transferred without much consultation. Even though the library component consumed about twenty percent of the Ministry's total budget, the PLS was not the subject of any fanfare or new policy statements. The NDP member, Jim Foulds, noted this omission when the Minister in charge of the Social Development policy field, Margaret Birch, announced the creation of the MCR in the Legislature:

I was surprised the minister doesn't seem to indicate in the statement that the library area will be under this ministry. It seems to me to be a natural for it. I know when they take things out from other ministries, hopefully at least, there are cross-ties within the branches of ministries. ⁶³

For the PLS the move was the last in a series of shuffles that had placed it in three different ministries in five years. The change also coincided with the Province's determination to get control of spending in a brief recessional period. The *Report of the Special Program Review* (the

⁵⁹ Ontario Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, *The Learning Society* (Toronto, 1972), 46-47, 62, and 89.

⁶⁰ Ontario Commission on Post-Secondary Education, *Libraries and Information Storage and Retrieval Systems* (Toronto, 1971), IX-4 to IX-7.

⁶¹ For example: St. John, *Ontario Libraries*, 43-50; and Ronald Baker, "Provincial Cataloging—Dream or Reality?" *Quill &Quire* 35 (Nov. 1969): 5.

⁶² The OLA brief to the Wright Commission reprinted in *OLA Newsletter* 9 (April 1971): 9-10. The brief from the Eastern Ontario Regional Library System to George Kerr, the Minister of the MCU, also reprinted in *OLA Newsletter* 11 (Nov. 1972): 13-14.

⁶³ Legislature of Ontario Debates, December 20, 1974, 6822.

Henderson Report) appeared at the end of 1975.⁶⁴ It recommended no new MCR program initiatives and a five percent ceiling on its existing programs. The news came at a time when the staff of the PLS had dwindled from thirteen in 1965 to eight in 1975.

With the exception of the Wintario capital expenditure program, the switch to the Arts Division of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation did not result in any substantive changes. Libraries were loosely associated with other cultural agencies, but no strong ties were forged. Provincial funding for libraries became, in the words of one minister, a "flat line," as **Table 10** illustrates. A 1977 Legislative Assembly committee report dealing with the expansion of the government's depository privileges did help improve public access to government information. Another modest reorganization at the end of 1979 held more promise: at this time, the PLS became the Libraries and Community Information Branch (LCIB) in the MCR's Information Access Division. A few months later, a report on French language services sponsored by the OPLC appeared. Then, in 1980, when the Ministry announced a two year Public Libraries Programme Review, it became obvious a holding pattern was in order.

The cumulative effect on library planning of all these studies and administrative changes at different government levels between 1967 and 1980 was predictable. At a time when public administrators were emphasizing the need to view government activity as a 'marble cake' of interdependent actors rather than the hierarchical 'layer cake,' public libraries were propelled in different directions. They lacked an effective central voice to withstand conflicting philosophies in government administration or a clearly defined place in the educational and cultural sectors. The analogy of a duck in a family of swans was used to describe the relationship of libraries within the Dept. of Education in 1971. Neither the PLS nor the OPLC was positioned to speak authoritatively for public libraries under the legislative provisions of 1966.

The record of the OPLC in terms of leadership after 1967 was a mixed one. Many boards were unaware of its potential or existence. They submitted briefs directly to the Minister in

⁶⁴ Ontario Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, *Report of the Special Program Review* (Toronto, 1975), 321-325.

⁶⁵ Legislature of Ontario Debates, Standing Committee on Social Development, April 19, 1979, S-108. The Minister, Reuben Batez, also rationalized the austerity program by saying: "I have heard on many occasions my counterparts in other provinces say, 'I wish we had what Ontario has." (S-112).

⁶⁶ Ontario Legislative Assembly, Final Report of the Select Committee on the Fourth and Fifth Reports of the Ontario Commission on the Legislature (Toronto, 1977), 31-34.

⁶⁷ Louis M. Desjardins and Evelyn Gagne, *French-Language Services in the Ontario Public Libraries* (Toronto: Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1980).

⁶⁸ See the Regional and Public Libraries Division meeting in *OLA Proceedings 1971*, unpaged.

charge of libraries without regard to the Council's position on issues. ⁶⁹ Most of the Council's recommendations to the Minister were ignored during this time. Consensus on a provincial plan for library service did not emerge after the OPLC's initial effort to define responsibilities at the local and regional levels in 1970 (see **Table 11**). The OPLC did not have an adequate budget or any staff to conduct research. To compensate partially for these problems the Council accepted a proposal from the Ontario Public Librarians' Advisory Committee (OPLAC) to help it arrive at decisions after 1976. ⁷⁰ A major OPLC initiative, the Bowron Report, was commissioned in 1974, but, after a lengthy consultation process, the Ministry did not act on the OPLC's 1977 recommendations about implementing parts of the report. After this failure, the focal point in library planning passed to a small Network Development Office (NDO) established in 1978 by the Directors of Ontario Regional Library Systems (DORLS) at the Metro Library and OPLAC's ad hoc Task Force on Long-Range Planning.

Many of the same problems afflicted the PLS, but part of its ineffectiveness stemmed from an inability to redefine roles and its reticence to press for expanded provincial programs. Not until the Programme Review commenced in 1980 were any important innovations entertained for the LCIB. Table 12 outlines the basic roles the PLS and its successor, the LCIB, have played since 1950: the most noticeable feature is the uniformity throughout a period when sweeping expansion was evident at all government levels.

Beneath the panoply of the PLS, at the regional and local levels there were qualified successes. A 1977 report on regions summarized the principal problem—administration:

...it is difficult to imagine a more complex organization for decision-making—a policy-setting Board made up of members whose individual primary responsibility may be once or twice removed; a director responsible for implementing the policy of the Board with no direct control of those who operate the system; and a committee or committees acting in an advisory capacity whose members are individually responsible to different agencies.⁷²

Given a vastly increased level of provincial funding compared to the regional cooperatives, more sophisticated networking could proceed. Between 1966 and 1981, t otal revenue from the Province increased about ten times (see **Table 13**). In terms of strategic planning, i.e.,

⁶⁹ One example: Northeastern Regional Library System, *Problems Affecting Public Library Service in Northern Ontario: a Brief Presented to Honourable Robert Welch, Minister of Culture and Recreation* (Kirkland Lake, 1976).

⁷⁰ Ontario Public Librarians' Advisory Committee, *General Comments on the Recommendations* of the Recent Ontario Public Library Study: Review and Reorganization (Toronto, 1976), 6, 18, and 21.

⁷¹ Margaret Ann Wilkinson, "Not Really Unloved or Unwanted," *Canadian Library Journal* 40 (1983): 365-370 studies the PLS during this period.

⁷² Donna Lee Berg, A Survey of Eight Southern Ontario Regional Library Systems: Prepared for the Lake Erie Regional Library System (London, 1977), 15-16.

determining what services each region would develop over a period of years, there were a number of resource sharing alternatives that made the decision-making process easier. However, in terms of operational planning, i.e., how regional goals would be achieved, a number of problems arose. Two areas—resource libraries and centralized processing—may serve as illustrations.

Building resource libraries for reference, research, and interlibrary loan purposes required channeling regional money to large libraries in each region for materials and staffing costs. The arrangements for these services varied from region to region, and, as the Bowron Report demonstrated, produced some tension. In Metro Toronto, these difficulties were seemingly overcome when the new library region assumed control of Toronto Public Library's central reference collection in 1968. Nevertheless, shortly afterwards doubts were expressed about the metropolitan board's ability to manage and deliver services. The questions remained, even after the new Metro library opened in 1977. Finally, Metro Council ordered a full-scale review of the reference library's administration and the conflicts between the Metro board and city or borough libraries in December 1979. The study, released in January 1981, concluded that the board should devote more activity to equalizing regional services across Metro and that legislation respecting the regional board needed clarification. In this regard, the report stated the general legislative problem facing all regional boards:

On the one hand there is the recognition of a need for coordination of certain library services and on the other the desire for area identification and autonomy. A clear definition of powers and responsibilities can assist in overcoming this dilemma. The legislation must clarify those areas which are to be accomplished through coordination and those the Metro Library Board has the authority to carry out. 75

However, the revised 1984 library legislation simply recognized Metro for its 'special' services and did little to elucidate its 'regional' functions.

In another major regional activity, centralized processing, agreement on cataloguing standards suiting the diverse needs of large and small libraries was needed, as well as a willingness to pay for the service. In the early 1970s, two processing centres in Lake Erie and Northwestern failed because of lack of planning, funding, and low usage by member libraries. Two other processing centres, Midwestern and Niagara, did expand their services beyond

⁷³ Bowron, *Ontario Public Library*, 170-171.

⁷⁴ Toronto Public Library, A Brief to the Prime Minister of Ontario from the Toronto Public Library Board on the Consolidation of Public Library Services in Metropolitan Toronto under One Jurisdiction (Toronto: TPL, 1970), mimeograph.

⁷⁵ Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, *Program Review of the Metropolitan Toronto Library Board* (Toronto, 1981), 30.

regional boundaries and were successfully serving about one hundred libraries by 1975. They provided acquisitions, cataloguing, book processing, and a potential database of holdings for client usage. However, the Niagara system self-destructed in 1977/78. A decision was made to drastically reduce operations in September 1979, then close completely in February 1980, when it was realized the centre was approximately \$750,000 in debt. When he was asked about resolving the bankruptcy, the Minister, Reuben Baetz, replied:

...we realize that the situation in Niagara, while most unusual, has illustrated some possible weaknesses in the accountability. Along with the library council and others, we are considering changing legislation to block up any loopholes or to make the boards more accountable. ⁷⁸

The Niagara situation spelled the end of 'regional processing' for public libraries, a concept that had run its course after two decades due to the development of new computerized systems and alternative organizational structures.

Consolidation and Accountability after 1980

When problems of such disturbing proportions occurred in Toronto and Niagara, it was evident a reassessment of the regional systems would have to be undertaken. A DORLS position paper presented to the Ministry at the outset of this process stated four basic concerns that required attention:

- determination of a provincial policy which regional systems could work to achieve;
- proper funding levels for regional programs;
- regional boundaries for service delivery;
- accountability of regional boards. 79

One of the main thrusts of the Programme Review undertaken between 1980-1982 was to improve accountability, especially at the regional level. The Minister, Bruce McCaffrey, said as much as the end of the review process when he reportedly said, "The system is working like a dream, except for that fiscal accountability." ⁸⁰ Several briefs by administrative groups presented to the Programme Review put more emphasis on the problems of resource libraries and

⁷⁶ Eric C. Bow, *Book Processing in the Public Libraries of Ontario* (Toronto: Ministry of Colleges and Universities, 1972), 24-31.

⁷⁷ "Takeover of Troubled Library Unlikely," *Globe and Mail*, Nov. 21, 1978, 8; "Library System Forced to Lay Off 27 in Niagara," *Globe*, Sept. 26, 1979, 9; and "Library System Closes," *Globe*, Feb. 13, 1980, 52.

⁷⁸ Legislature of Ontario Debates, Standing Committee on Social Development, April 16, 1980, S-100.

⁷⁹ Directors of Ontario Regional Library Systems, *Position Paper Presented to Honourable Reuben C. Baetz, Minister of Culture and Recreation* (Richmond Hill, 1980), 18-19.

⁸⁰ Ken MacGray, "Ontario Rejects Library Overhaul," *Toronto Star*, 29 Dec. 1982: A3.

centralized processing, but these positions were not conclusive.⁸¹ The County and Regional Municipality Librarians' brief actually criticized the regional systems for dissipating the cooperative movement in Ontario in terms of creating larger governing units.⁸²

During the Programme Review and discussion of the Green Paper, the new Ministry of Citizenship and Culture (MCC), to which the LCIB and libraries relocated in 1982, gradually began to reshape the regional role. In a brief to the Programme Review, the Midwestern Board recommended separating the processing centre from its jurisdiction; afterwards, the centre was retitled Library Services Centre. As well, a Ministry review in 1983/84 indicated the Centre was a financially viable operation. This report also recommended detaching it from the regional board, making the entire operation cost-recovery, and extending its services to more clients. When the 1984 Act appeared, the process of withdrawing provincial funding and control began. The facility became, in essence, a commercial operation serving smaller and medium sized clients in Ontario.

In Metro, the Programme Review did not result in significant change. A provincial study of union products for resource sharing in regional systems recommended the LCIB contract with Metro's systems unit to produce, print, and distribute regional catalogues. A change of Metro library directors between 1981 and 1986 produced some new ideas, such as marketing the central reference library's image as a research library. The section of the 1984 Act about Metro was left "purposefully vague to provide flexibility" according to Will Vanderelst, who became director of the LCIB in 1983. The Act simply stated that Metro was "deemed to be a special library service board and may provide library resources and services to the Ontario library community." The Province and the Metro Board entered into discussions about the types of services Metro could provide and answer the question—what did the Province receive for its legislative grant? When the government amended legislation in 1987 to designate Metro as a special services board, it identified the primary functions of the board, i.e. reference and research

⁸¹ Katherine McKinnon, *Comparison of Briefs to Public Libraries Programme Review by AMPLO, CARML, CELPLO, DORLS* (Orillia: s.n., 1981), 7 and 9, photocopy, surveys the recommendations by these groups on the two issues.

⁸² County and Regional Municipality Librarians, *Brief to Public Library Review, July 22, 1981* (Wyoming, 1981), 1 [mimeograph].

⁸³ Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *Midwestern Regional Library Service Library Services Centre Review* (Toronto, 1984), 41-59.

⁸⁴ Eric C. Bow, *Ontario Regional Library System Specialized Union Products: A Study* (Toronto: Network Development Office, 1982), 19-26.

⁸⁵ Diane Turbide, "Remarketing Metro Affects Users and Staff," *Quill &Quire* 51 (April 1985): 68.

⁸⁶ *Public Libraries Act*, 1984, 33 Eliz. II c. 57 s. 40(3).

service along with supplementing public services by the area boards. The amendment also provided details about the board's powers within Metro. The board could maintain a comprehensive collection of books, periodicals, films and other materials; operate a bookinformation service and an inter-library service for its own collections and those of the area boards; operate a circulating service for any part of its collections; and provide such other services as it considered necessary for a comprehensive and efficient library service. ⁸⁷ For its part, the MCZC continued regular funding to Toronto's reference library after a change from per capita funding to households in 1985.

In three regional systems, the issue of resource sharing focused on automation and telecommunications after 1980. In Lake Erie, the NDO studied various options for sharing database facilities at the London Public Library on a cost sharing basis by participants. While the technical aspects of establishing an information network were quite detailed, the study did not examine the administrative or contractual problems at any length. ⁸⁸ In South Central, an integrated library model anchored by a single regional database of holdings providing catalogues, acquisitions, circulation, etc., was proposed as the network system that would allow client resource sharing. ⁸⁹ In Central Ontario, essentially the same conclusion was reached: a central bibliographic database could offer acquisitions, cataloguing, and interlibrary loan functions for libraries that could not afford their own computerized system.

However, the MCC and the LCIB were unwilling to fund regional systems for supplying or managing computer databases. Instead, a 1982 report on coordinated networking by the NDO emphasized the regional role in telecommunications and surface transport. Automation and cooperative local area networks were to become local level responsibilities supplemented with planning and financial assistance offered by the Province. This type of decentralized system developed independently by the mid-1980s in the York Region and, to a lesser extent, in the Halton Region. For northern Ontario and smaller communities in the south, there were special considerations. The smaller population, restricted economic base, and vast distances in the north

⁸⁷ An Act to Amend the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act, 36 Elizabeth II, 1987, sec. 5-8 [Bill 209].

[[]Bill 209].

88 Metropolitan Toronto Library Board Network Development Office, *Prospects for a LERIS Information Network Using the London Public Library/GEAC Computer* (Toronto, 1981).

⁸⁹ A.J.S. Ball, *Network Study: South Central Regional Library System: Summary Report* (Regina: BDC Library and Automation Consultants, 1983).

⁹⁰ Central Ontario Regional Library System, *Computerization Feasibility and Planning Study* (Richmond Hill, 1983).

⁹¹ Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *Networking of Interlibrary Loan*, *Telecommunications and Surface Communication Service for the Ontario Public Library Community: Preliminary Study and Analysis* (Toronto, 1982).

required some different types of regional programs, ones that were identified in a 1980 brief to the Minister, Reuben Baetz. The Programme Review recommended regional involvement with basic services, such as rotating book collections, staff training, special collections, programming for groups, and direct service to municipally unorganized populations. In the southern part of the province, where many small nonviable boards and non-operating boards existed, the MCC revived support for the development of larger units of service. To this end, a program for funding feasibility studies was developed in concert with CARML ⁹³.

All these policy changes at the regional level were phased in before the 1984 Act was proclaimed. Thus, regional library systems became agencies of the MCC; independent status disappeared and the OPLC was sunsetted. Previous regional systems were consolidated and renamed Ontario Library Service (OLS) areas in 1983/84 as follows:

Nipigon — Northwestern

James Bay — Northeastern

Voyageur — North Central, part of Algonquin

Trent — parts of Algonquin, Georgian Bay, Lake Ontario, and Central Ontario

Rideau — Eastern Ontario, part of Lake Ontario

Saugeen — Midwestern, part of Georgian Bay

Escarpment — Niagara, South Central, part of Central Ontario

Thames — Southwestern and Lake Erie

The objectives of the OLS boards were simplified in section 34 of the 1984 Act. Boards were to deliver programs on behalf of the Minister in three basic ways. First, they would increase cooperation and coordination among public library boards and other information providers. Second, they would assist public library boards with the provision of services and programs that reflected their needs by consultation, training, and development services. Third, the northern OLS areas could provide library services directly to the public by contract with municipalities, local service boards, Indian band councils, or trustees of an improvement district. The core services of the OLS areas were interlibrary loan (delivery system and telecommunications), audio-visual services, local library consulting service, training and evaluation, coordination of cost-sharing program, and development of larger units of service.

⁹² Northern Ontario Regional Library System Boards Joint Committee, *A Brief to the Minister of Culture & Recreation of the Province of Ontario* (Sudbury, 1980), 8-9.

⁹³ Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *Larger Units of Public Library Service Feasibility Study Program: Criteria* (Toronto, 1984). This publication includes CARML's guidelines developed in April 1983.

 ⁹⁴ Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *The New Act and What it Means* (Toronto, 1984),
 29.

Although the boundaries and rationale for service differed from the old regional systems, the structure of most new OLS boards was remarkably similar. The only change from the 1966 Act was to allow more representation from small communities: in cases where boards over 15,000 in population and county boards appointed nine or more members (e.g. in Escarpment or Trent), the Ministry could appoint additional members to make one less than the total appointed by larger boards. All OLS appointments became concurrent with the provincial fiscal year, i.e., April 1 through March 31. New boards were given the statutory power in section 35 of the 1984 Act to:

- make by-laws and rules;
- appoint committees;
- enter into agreements with library boards;
- appoint persons to execute documents on behalf of the board.

OLS budget requests along with audited statements would be submitted to the Minister for final approval. No mention of the LCIB's role appeared in the 1984 A ct. Far from stating a government policy for public library service, defining the status and functions of a provincial library agency, or clarifying how OLS areas would work together on a provincial scale, the legislative provisions merely mentioned the regulatory power of the Lieutenant-Governor in section 39. In a Legislative debate on the library bill, opposition members expressed disapproval of this section: "It concerns me that this section of the bill dealing with regulations is about as expansive as the Pacific Ocean. The regulations and the implementation of the act are left too much in the hands of the minister and, more important, her well-intentioned bureaucratic support staff." Nevertheless, no changes at third reading accommodated criticism about the absence of language regarding provincial structures or roles.

The LCIB pressed ahead with its initiatives in fiscal 1985/86. A \$300,000 computerized telecommunication project began in Escarpment. A new county library was formed in Northumberland utilizing the County Library Establishment Program. After a Northern Public Libraries Study was completed, \$880,000 was approved specifically for collection development purposes, another Tri-Regional Catalogue grant, and other automation projects for northern communities. After a study conducted by the Trent office, the Ontario Joint Fiction Reserve, a cooperative storage program begun in 1972, was centralized in Barrie. The Library Co-Operative Automation Program was allotted \$820,000 to develop a shared database of collections and foster local area networks. As well, a French Language Library Collection Development Program totaling \$416,000 be came available to boards to improve service for Francophones.

⁹⁵ Legislature of Ontario Debates, November 15, 1984, 4178.

⁹⁶ Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *Ontario Joint Fiction/Biography Reserve: A Review* (Toronto, 1985), 20-21.

As the LCIB officers looked ahead to a new future, its personnel realized that success might lie in its relationships with the diverse administrative groupings that appeared in Ontario after 1975. The two main theories that account for the development of interorganizational relations in general are based on plans for resource sharing or linkages between homogeneous groups that reinforce their own activities. Certainly, the development of library networks after 1966 in Ontario reflected the main ideas found in both these theories. In fact, it would be difficult to determine which has played a more important part in development. It became axiomatic to say that the public library community was divided. After the mid-1970s, formal associations for large, medium, and small sized libraries, county and regional municipality libraries, OPLAC, OLTA, OLA and its divisions, guilds, interest groups, as well as many other groups were created rapidly. Unity is by no means a byword. Disputes about priorities often contain destructive seeds, even for trustees. One observer remarked:

Time and time again, in my own limited experience, I have seen trustees from larger boards gang up on those from smaller boards. I've seen trustees from municipal boards attempt to manipulate and destructively influence the actions of regional boards. . . . While the 'bottom line' for our own personal service is that we care about libraries as an abstract entity, as a benefit and fundamental right in a democracy, we seem unable or unwilling to share that 'bottom line' with others. ⁹⁷

Reaching consensus on many issues was always a difficult process that did not guarantee success.

When the Association of Library Boards of Ontario was formed in 1982, there were expectations that it might become an effective political avenue for expressing viewpoints of boards because its constitution created a membership and executive composed mostly of trustees. ⁹⁸ It was not an integral part of another larger organization like the Ontario Library Trustees' Association and it possessed a quality of legitimacy in its viewpoints and statements. The new director of the LCIB, Brian Shannon, stated, "I'd like to see one organization created to represent the whole library community to the Ministry." However, ALBO, like OLA before it, could not immediately claim to represent all boards during the Programme Review process because less than half of all boards maintained membership. During the 1980s ALBO did become a voice for a considerable number of trustees and administrators, nonetheless, at the annual meeting in 1990, its members voted to merge with the OLA and resume activities within two of its divisions, the Trustees Association and Public Library Association. However, the idea

⁹⁷ Marilyn Crow, John Boulden, and Peter Barrow, *Board or Bored? The Role of Library Trustees* (Kitchener: Midwestern Regional Library System, 1981), 15-16.

⁹⁸ Association of Library Boards of Ontario, Constitution, October, 1982 (Toronto, 1982), 1-4.

⁹⁹ Diane Turbide, "Ontario Public Library Review Nears End," Quill & Quire 48 (Feb. 1982): 32.

ALBO inspired—a coalition of stakeholders representing the voice of a broad membership of library boards—would remain as an exemplar eventually to resurface after 2000.

Intergovernmental planning efforts since 1945 have included many studies touching on surveys, analysis of services, the establishment of goals, development and implementation, forecasting, decision-making, and evaluation of services. A number of general observations can be made about how programs that describe and allocate resources are delivered and what these programs achieve. To begin with accomplishments, public access to library service has made the greatest gain, both by the extension of boards to unserved communities in the 1945-1975 period and the more recent progress toward equality of access to resources through the development of computerized networks. Unquestionably, there are better holdings and improved reference service in place today than at the end of the Second World War, not simply in quantitative per capita circulation or holdings (see **Table 14**), but also in the way resource sharing extends usage. As well, the range of programming has expanded.

In two other crucial areas of program application there have been modest improvements as well. As earlier tables have indicated, financing at the provincial and municipal levels has increased after 1945, and there has been a modest rise in total per capita expenditure (see **Table 15**). It is in the administrative structure where problems have occurred because the prevailing political consensus dictates local responsibility for control and funding of basic services (the 'layer cake' concept). The reality is that it has been repeatedly demonstrated that combinations of small impoverished boards in association, non-operating or operating form cannot contribute much to regional or OLS area development. Conversely, larger libraries cannot afford to be too benevolent in providing services, resources, or staff for regional or OLS system development; instead, they look to similar-sized libraries for ideas and cooperative activities.

The accomplishments in these three areas—access, finances, and structure—have taken place in a variety of ways. In four decades, the general provincial framework for public library service has gradually evolved from the formal educative relationships superintended by the Dept. of Education to association with the varied cultural agencies administered by the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture and its successors. At the local government level, the special purpose library board has lost most of its traditional authority and independence, thus impinging its ability to act. These changes, which are also in evidence in some other provinces, have not come about through any major analysis of the issues and deliberate policy change on the part of the Province, but have grown out of a variety of studies, circumstances, and consensus reached after lengthy conversation and conflict.

Since the mid-1970s, there has not been a strong ongoing policy analysis or regulatory

agency within the provincial level to integrate and manage the activities of libraries. Provincial policies synthesize ideas and develop statements on courses of action. Policy serves as a vital link between ends and means. Some library programs that require this type of provincial activity, such as certification, have gradually withered. Some development plans, such as standards for service, remain guidelines. Attempts after 1966 to establish regional systems were not successful due to strong identification with local interests and a disinclination to regionalize operations. Beyond a limited service or regulatory role, the Province has assumed an advisory role in the policy field for a few areas such as larger units of service or legislative changes. But general efforts to establish policy on issues often flounder on the rocks of local autonomy and separate communities of interest.

Aside from policy formation, the Province's conditional transfer payment to boards remains the main method of developing service across Ontario. The transfer of funds to special purpose bodies is one constant in Ontario's library history. Yet, the ability of boards possessing limited authority and power to adapt to political and social change is restricted. To overcome this problem some provincial services, such as travelling libraries or the management of OLS area boards, have offered assistance and a limited range of services to boards. Attempts to establish intermediary levels of service—regions or OLS areas—have not met with complete success due to strong identification with local interests and a disinclination to provide strong central direction on the part of the province. Across the province, the combination of policy, conditional transfers, and limited service to boards has led to many diverse solutions to common problems because local government outlooks prevail in the planning process.

For forty years, Ontario's public libraries were engaged in an attempt to clarify their place in government and determine what the possibilities might be. The complexities presented by overlapping political boundaries, economic disparities, and advancing technology made any type of comprehensive provincial plan determined from a political centre difficult to attain. The growing interdependence of government bodies is well established, as witnessed by the growth of fiscal and contractual linkages. The trend became clear: as libraries united in cooperative efforts to share resources, the need for coordination increased.

It remained to be seen whether post-1984 legislative library arrangements would form a basis for the inclusion of all types of libraries (college, special, school, and public) in an adaptable multi-type provincial library system. This phenomenon had occurred already in some American states. The prospects for the Province to succeed in helping local boards reach decisions about improving their situation were more evident. With increased council control in appointments and budgeting, the possibility for board-municipal cooperative efforts, e.g. in the area of technology, also became a greater possibility. Certainly, the technology to overcome

geographic distance and administrative boundaries existed in the mid-1980s. Nevertheless, funding and planning for multi-type systems, provincial resource sharing, and automation could not take place primarily at the local government level. It was a challenge for the future, one that existed yesterday and would continue to motivate planning in the years ahead.

6. PROFESSIONALISM IN LIBRARY ADMINISTRATION

Traditionally trustees have been involved in and close to the administration of library services in a number of ways. At the turn of the century, lay board members in free libraries routinely attended to building details, helped in book selection, dealt with the Inspector of Libraries, and scrutinized operations carefully. The public dollar was considered a public trust, and board members were actively involved with its proper use. For association library trustees, who possessed little or no money for personnel, administrative details were even more taxing: an editorial in the 1922 *Ontario Library Review* commented on the necessity for them to raise operating funds, carefully consider each book purchased, and to promote reading in the community by making known what the library had to offer. There was a certain amount of 'know how' required in administration and a distinctly practical flavour to many solutions. Pragmatism, the philosophy of successful procedural techniques, was already deeply ingrained in library administration.

The Policy/Administration Dichotomy

In larger, tax-supported free libraries the 'hands on' approach to running libraries, symbolized by the old title 'Board of Management,' was gradually replaced in the early decades of this century by the policy/administration doctrine espoused by progressive reformers. The division between policy and administration became fashionable in public administration due to the influence of scientific management and then to the human relations movement which succeeded it in the 1930s. This dichotomous scheme became firmly ensconced for half a century and appeared frequently in trustee manuals and library literature. By the late 1920s the doctrine was already talking hold: "The larger the library the more the trustee confines his attention to policies and the larger administrative problems. The smaller the library the more the trustee is obliged to penetrate into detail." Three decades later, Angus Mowat again described the essential features of the policy/administration philosophy in 1957:

The board decides upon policies; and, since the members have other matters

¹ A chronicle of typical turn of the century library administration is presented by Elizabeth Spicer, *A History of the London Public Library 1899-1905* (London: London Public Library and Art Museum, 1967).

² "Editorial Notes and Comment," Ontario Library Review 7 (Aug. 1922): 3.

³ "Duties of All Trustees," Ontario Library Review 13 (May 1929): 130 [editorial].

to attend to, they employ a manager and where necessary a staff to see that their policies are carried out. The manager in this case is the librarian, who is responsible to the board and who, naturally, attends the board meetings.⁴

Of course, there were a number of assumptions underlying this accepted dogma. First, the central activity in administration was decision making that took place within a hierarchical organizational structure. Second, it was believed politicians and trustees mostly made policy; chief executives, mostly librarians, executed the decisions. Third, chief executives/librarians were considered 'politically neutral,' they did not overtly engage in policy formulation or advocate their own causes directly to the staff or public. Finally, trustees and librarians worked together closely to carry out their duties in the best interests of the community. Both parties helped foster the growth of professionalism for librarians and proficiency for trustees in the belief that competency in administration and policymaking was fundamental in order to achieve economy and efficiency.

In reality, the separation between policy-making and administration was never so simple, nor were the underlying assumptions entirely valid. As the preceding chapter has shown, trustees, along with librarians, government officials, and the public, participate continuously in the planning process, of which policy making is but one part. Administrative behaviour may be better understood within the broader political spectrum rather than accepting its nonpolitical, impartial status. Policy depends on the formulation of goals and objectives (the conceptualization of purpose) and the established practices and programs that are the means of achieving the stated ends. The library board has the legal responsibility for the final determination of policy, but librarians and others actively take part in the process. The extent to which librarians or trustees predominate in policymaking is often determined by:

- the type of policy: programmatic, fiscal, personnel;
- the size and complexity of the library operations;
- the expertise that individual board members possess in relation to the library and its services;
- the librarians' professional status and experience in the library;
- some intangible determinants that help shape local policy: budgets, community values, time perspectives, etc.

As well, the personal interplay between the public, trustees, and administrators often determines the outcome of board decisions. There are many examples of conflicts and successful collaboration that have highlighted Ontario's library history.

⁴ Ontario Dept. of Education, *The Public Library in Ontario*, 4th ed. (Toronto: King's Printer, 1957), 20.

⁵ These attributes appear through mid-century guides, e.g., June E. Munro, *The Role of the Library Trustee* (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1962), 3-9.

Trustees have acknowledged many times the valuable role played by librarians. One statement at the 1950 OLA annual meeting is illustrative:

It must be apparent that any advancement in library work will be largely governed by the thinking and efforts of two groups of people—trustees and professional librarians. Naturally, librarians who have made a prolonged study of library work and are daily concerned with all phases of library operation have a much clearer grasp of its requirements and potentialities than does the trustee whose connection with library activities is of necessity, occasional. That the trustee leans heavily on members of the library staff for advice and guidance is only natural.⁶

More sound advice came from a CLA guide in 1952 regarding the oft-repeated question, "what should the board expect from the librarian?" As the executive officer on a board, the librarian was expected

- to plan for balanced collections, information and reference, and reader services;
- to possess technical and organizational knowledge to carry out or delegate details of these plans;
- to provide reports on library progress, property and equipment;
- to operate the library within the terms of the budget;
- to establish relationships with citizens, organizations, and official bodies;
- to show interest in the educational and cultural life of the municipality;
- to be in charge of book selection in cooperation with the board.

These statements are emblematic of the policy/administration dichotomy that governed much thinking in public administration until the 1950s. There was constant interplay between trustees and chief librarians during board meetings where recommendations turned into decisions and eventually public resources. Of course, reality often differed from the ideal: a knowledgeable trustee from the Barrie area quipped that librarians had to be "veritable paragons" and that they must almost be "all things to all men" when she outlined the relationship. Increasingly, after the mid-century, theorists and practitioners in public administration began to realize that the canon of dichotomous decision-making and the accepted 'principles' approach to public administration (e.g., division of labour, hierarchy of authority, span of control) were not necessarily the most suitable premises to explain organizational behaviour. Librarians and trustees recognized the complexity of administration and management for public libraries for Toronto, larger cities, smaller towns and villages, rural country communities, and districts in northern Ontario.

⁶ George H. Hamilton, "What Lies Ahead for Library Trustees?" *Ontario Library Review* 34 (1950): 173.

⁷ "The Library Trustee," *CLA Bulletin* 9 (Sept. 1952): 29.

⁸ Agnes Montagu Leeds, "The Trustee and the Library," *CLA Bulletin* 7 (Jan. 1951): 148.

The Growth of Professionalism to the 1960s

Agreement by trustees and professional librarians concerning who should ultimately determine policy and who should normally manage the work authorized has led to a remarkably durable partnership. Typically, both boards and librarians are said to be working jointly for the community in a nonpolitical capacity. The basis for a good working relationship was formed as early as 1902 when trustees at the annual OLA convention discussed provincial certification of librarians and government grants for libraries that employed certified staff. Because the logic of this argument was irresistible, the Dept. of Education participated in certification and education for librarianship for the next six decades. At first, the Department's interest was mostly vocational: it offered certificates for one-month library courses from 1911-16, two-month course certificates from 1917-18, and then three-month course certificates from 1919-1927 (the Ontario Library School at Toronto Public Library). Upon creation of the University of Toronto Library School in 1928, the Department issued certificates to its one-year course diploma graduates until 1946. Between 1937 and 1950 a professional degree was conferred at the undergraduate level (the BLS), then at the graduate level (the MLS) as well after 1950. In both cases, the Department issued certificates until 1962 when it withdrew from active participation in library education. 10

Throughout this period, librarians sought to upgrade their status from an occupation to a recognized profession.¹¹ However, most activity revolved around professionalism in another sense, that is expertise, competence, and skill expected in the performance of duties. The idea of formulating codes of ethics or intellectual freedom came late to Ontario libraries and Canada.¹² Most contemporary ideas about the relationship of librarians and boards and library management were expressed in a small pamphlet, the American Library Association's code of ethics adopted in 1938, which featured a small section on the 'Relation of the Librarian to the Governing Authority."¹³ By this standard, all librarians accepted the final administrative authority vested in the governing body. Chief librarians were supposed to keep boards informed of progressive ideas and standards, to serve as a liaison between staff and board, and to be responsible for staff

⁹ Reported in the *Toronto Globe*, April 2, 1902, 7.

¹⁰ The Department's educational activities are sketched by Bertha Bassam, *The Faculty of Library Science University of Toronto and its Predecessors 1911-1972*, 2-76; and by W.A. Roedde, "The Provincial Role in Library Education," *Ontario Library Review* 43 (1959): 130-131.

¹¹ For this process see Lorne Bruce, "Professionalization, Gender, and Librarianship in Ontario, 1920-75," *Library and Information History* 28, no. 2 (June 2012): 119-36.

¹² For example, W.A. Roedde, "Small Thoughts on a Big Subject," *CLA Bulletin* 27 (Oct. 1957): 75-76; and "The Librarian's Professional Credo: Part 1, the Librarian," *Feliciter* 4 (Dec. 1958): 26.

¹³ Code of Ethics for Librarians Adopted by the Council of the American Library Association, December, 1938 (Chicago: American Library Association, 1939).

appointments and performance. Only a few general arguments were raised against the growing tide of professionalism in library administration. Some lay board members or politicians did not accept the unrealistically high standards that library associations adopted. How could economy, efficiency, or objective planning be satisfied in such situations? Ironically, the argument that professionals should be insulated from political pressures leads to a counter-argument. If it can be said that senior officers have undue influence *viz-à-viz* boards or councils, or that professionals are unresponsive bureaucrats whose activities may be unchecked in many instances, then political accountability could be lacking in some cases. Finally, the conflict between professional interests and other viewpoints can be cited: the public may feel that professionals are unrepresentative, either in terms of general population characteristics or because they may claim autonomy from lay control in administrative matters.

To be sure, the Department was always conscious that higher educational qualifications for librarians were not acceptable in many quarters. The typical negative attitude to advanced standing appeared in the Legislature in April 1947 when the Premier, George Drew, explained the government's rationale for new certification grants based on non-degree courses for staff in rural libraries (the C, D, and E class certificates of library service):

Mr. Drew: There are two grades of librarians who require university standing, the A and B grades. There are five altogether, A, B, C, D, E. The last three do not require university standing. The actual division is based upon the qualifications required to meet the standards of the library. It is the top categories of librarian work that call for the very highest type of training and educational standards. But that does not limit those who may wish to be librarians if they are not actually university graduates, merely that they can only qualify for the A and B certificates if they have university standing.

Mr. Oliver: I am sure the Minister (Mr. Drew) appreciates the difficulties that would arise in rural centres if you insisted on B achelor of Arts or university education.

Mr. Drew: That was exactly the point. The rural libraries will not require A and B certificates. 15

In effect, provincial officials recognized that a disparity existed between rural and urban library services and that the requirements for leadership and staffing were different.

In the decade immediately after 1945, the number of undergraduates in librarianship did not increase in relation to other professional degree programs. **Table 16** shows the enrollment of full-time students in selected faculties from 1931-1955, and the small number of librarians.

¹⁴ F.B. Murray, "Canadian Library Standards," *Library Trends* 21 (1972): 298-311 looks at the development of standards.

¹⁵ Legislature of Ontario Debates, April 2, 1947, 757.

Certification grants were supposed to encourage boards to hire better-qualified personnel and offer wages that are more realistic. However, salaries remained low. Douglas Fisher, who later became a Member of Parliament, stated that he left librarianship in the early 1950s because "I could not see staying in a field where the chances for good pay were so poor at what I really loved to do." Furthermore, certification tended to encourage independent operations with one professional. "The rapid turnover of 'chief and only' librarians in county and town libraries in the fifties and sixties was a mixed blessing: it provided valuable administrative experience for librarians on their way up, but did not encourage the development of a viable structure for public library development or efficient employment of professional and other personnel." ¹⁷

Because certification grants were not as effective as expected, and because it was obvious that universities or community colleges would control education for professional librarians and paraprofessional library technicians by the late 1960s, the Department abandoned its program completely in 1972. One reason the Department relaxed its efforts was that more librarians were employed during the economic prosperity of the 1960s. In many parts of Ontario for many years, the familiar arguments that advanced the case of professionals in libraries were not recognized, but, by 1967, a Departmental guidebook could confidently state: "Without the professional librarian, the public library could not function." 18

The arguments for professionalism succeeded because they were attractive. It is argued that increased expertise is provided, that professionals have a base of theoretical knowledge, are abreast of new ideas and methods, therefore better levels of service are attained. Because efficiency and effectiveness are highly rated, increased expertise is naturally desirable. A second argument maintains that better ethical and technical standards are more pronounced in professionalism, and, as a result, the integrity of service is enhanced. The publication of codes of ethics or conduct is relevant if one believes that the public interest is better served in this way. Another point stresses group norms that professionals establish: this helps build uniformities between libraries. Of course, librarians have a professional language, similar solutions to organizational problems, and model career patterns. More contemplative librarians have not failed to remind the profession of its negative stereotypes as well: "Our profession will continue to present a boring public image as long as we are the sort who consider photocharging to be the greatest break-through in library development since the open-stack system." Yet, the main

¹⁶ Quoted by Edward Clifford, "Do Ontario's People Really Want Good Public Libraries?" *Toronto Globe Magazine*, June 9, 1962, 7.

¹⁷ W.A. Roedde, "Certification in Ontario," *IPLO Quarterly* 14 (1972): 82.

¹⁸ W.A. Roedde, *Public Libraries in Ontario* (Toronto: Dept. of Education, 1967), 6.

¹⁹ A.W. Bowron, "The Back-Slapping Season is Here Again," *Quill & Quire* 27 (May-June 1961): 24.

point is that uniformities or standards do provide the potential for better service delivery. Finally, returning to the policy/administration theory, professionals are insulated from 'political' pressures, thus offering the potential for equitable consideration in service delivery.

While professionalism in librarianship was developing, the Department also devoted its energy to organizing library institutes, meetings, and workshops for trustees in a parallel effort to develop better administrative knowledge. When the Department seemed to be dragging its feet in this area at the end of the 1920s, trustees insisted on restoring the popular library institutes.²⁰ In this period, Inspectors were concerned more often with rectifying specific problems created by inactive or inattentive boards, rather than sponsoring institute sessions for trustees across the province. During the Great Depression, Inspector F.C. Jennings admonished sloppy administrative practices in his 1934-35 reports. He found that a few boards held meetings annually or less frequently (one board had not met since 1922), minute books were not kept up, and treasurer's records not audited. Some boards did not submit annual estimates to council; consequently, finances were in a critical state. Later, under Angus Mowat and Bill Roedde, the Department began to relinquish its customary role as CLA, OLA, and new regional systems introduced in the 1960s began to play a greater part in trustee education. The St. John report commented on the Dept. of Education's institute program in 1964: about 10 to 20 were held each year with subjects ranging from regional reference centres, technical services in libraries, and the role of library trustees. 21 Naturally, it was much easier to arrange annual conference workshops for trustees who were active in library associations or Ontario regions than to sponsor institute activities for five hundred boards from Toronto.

Contemporary Library Administration after 1970

The Department of Education's disengagement from actively promoting professionalism and trustee proficiency by the end of the 1960s coincided with the rising influence of systems theory and systems analysis, and the decline of the policy/administration doctrine. Systems thinking de-emphasized policy-making and the board/librarian roles by giving consideration to the entire process of organizational planning and management, along with the interplay among the actors at every stage. Not surprisingly, the *Public Libraries Act*, 1984 omitted the necessity of having a librarian serve as chief executive officer (and possible secretary and treasurer), roles that had been established in the 1966 A ct. Now, qualified persons from other professional occupations could be selected as CEOs of library systems. Significantly, when a new Ontario trustee manual was prepared in 1985-86, the traditional board-librarian relationship was

²⁰ T.B. Howard, "Shall We Revive the Library Institutes?" in *OLA Proceedings* 1930, 42-45.

²¹ Francis R. St. John Library Consultants, *Ontario Libraries: A Province-wide Survey and Plan* (Toronto: OLA, 1965), 12.

excluded.²²

In organizational thinking, feedback, outputs, master plans, program budgeting, performance evaluation, etc., were as important as policy and discipline knowledge. Systems thinking emphasized everyone working together to achieve a common purpose; in this process, professionalism in librarianship and trustee expertise remained important, but so were consultants, business administrators, accountants, human relations managers, and citizen participation. More complex management techniques, such as the 'Planning-Programming-Budgeting Systems' (PPBS) or 'Management Information Systems' (MIS) popularized the assessment of outputs measured by various management strategies, operational processes, and institutional funding.²³ Political value neutrality was neither a necessity nor a virtue, after all, standards devised by library associations could be considered as inputs or yardsticks to measure objectives rather than absolute goals. In general, systems theory and systems analysis broadened the perspective of library administration by displacing hierarchical organizational structure and decision making from centre stage. But it a lso displaced librarians as administrators and managers at different levels.

From the administrative standpoint, the conservative influence of scientific management and systems analysis on libraries cannot be ignored. Both organizational theories have contributed to an emphasis on pragmatic and positivist ideas in library administration at a very time when some of the foundations of pragmatism and positivism have been questioned in other disciplines and administrative jurisdictions. As library science developed as a discipline, it was strongly influenced by positivist philosophy. Graduates that advanced in administrative capacities were imbued with management ideas and trends that looked for principles or used quantitative methods that held the promise of improving organizations. Scientific management was popular because it stressed hierarchical structure and centralized decision-making. Systems theories better articulated system relationships and its stress was upon equilibrium rather than change or innovation. For example, better communication or more money was often cited in systems studies as a means to achieve improved services. The conservative administrative values that each perspective typifies have provided continuity in thinking about library administration through the years.

During the 1970s, thinking in public administration was evolving from the study of government—its structure, functions, agencies, lines of authority, bureaucratic apparatus, etc.—

²² Lorraine M. Williams, *The Ontario Library Trustee's Handbook* (Toronto: Ontario Library Trustees' Association, 1986), 18.

²³ For example, Garth Homer, "Management Information Systems Can Help Senior Library Managers" *Canadian Library Journal* 43 (June 1986): 141-45.

to the more systematic process of governance, i.e. what government is doing and how effective or accountable it is. The 'New Public Administration' ideas introduced in this period explored alternatives to traditional structures and emphasized equity; redefined relationships between bureaucrats and citizens; and advocated transparency, consensus, and inclusion of citizens in political-administrative matters. 24 A new vocabulary built around these ideas came into being citizen participation, needs assessment, and stakeholders. While not all these elements came into play in Ontario's provincial-municipal governing framework over the next two decades, library boards and trustees felt the impact of political realignments and re-engineering of social programs. Regional boards, deemed to be unaccountable entities, were particularly involved in changing provincial priorities and delivery of services to the public. Local boards also felt the winds of change as the province's Committee on Government Productivity introduced new areas of policy development for Ontario as a whole, such as Social Development, and new ministries, such as the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, to oversee public programs. These major shifts upset traditional alignments in which libraries had participated for many years, but they did not extinguish the board system or reliance on older principles, such as policy-administration. In many ways, the fundamentals of library administration were sound, in theory and in practice.

Reliance by board members on pragmatism and a professional positivist bent are evident in basic library administrative texts and trustee manuals. ²⁵ Trustees and librarians at conferences and workshops have also repeated a number of terms that indicate the primary values inherent in public library administration in the immediate postwar period and its aftermath. The most frequently used by words are:

- economy: management with special regard to costs;
- efficiency: management measured by energy, time, costs, etc.;
- effectiveness: management achieves desirable results in right ways;
- equitableness: equal treatment in providing services to the public;
- integrity: honesty and soundness in fulfilling trust;
- neutrality: detachment on political issues;
- accountability: those in charge are answerable for their actions;
- representativeness: relationships of those acting for community; and
- responsiveness: need to be sensitive to public interest or rights.

²⁴ For example, Frank Marini, ed., *Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* (Scranton, Penn: Chandler Publishing, 1971); and in Canada, Allan R. Cahoon, "Towards a New Public Administration," *Optimum* 3, no. 1 (1972): 19-27.

²⁵ The standard texts for library administration in this period were published in the U.S. by Virginia Young, *The Library Trustee: A Practical Guidebook* (New York: Bowker, 1964); Joseph L. Wheeler and Herbert Goldhor, *Practical Administration of Public Libraries* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962); Dorothy Sinclair, *Administration of the Small Public Library* (Chicago: ALA, 1965); and Roberta Bowler (ed.), *Local Public Library Administration* (Chicago: ALA, 1964).

For convenience, these values may be grouped into three general areas: values about efficiency and effectiveness that focus on competent management; those that focus on the perceived quality of administration; and those that focus on the political relationship and interaction between citizens and libraries.

In the first set of values—efficiency, effectiveness, and economy—there is obvious concern for the public dollar and appropriate library goals. Budgeting and planning are natural areas for this type of activity. In the 1970s, a few libraries experimented with zero-based budgeting and management by objectives. ²⁶ To a great extent, the values are more applicable to individual libraries because they involve details about staffing, planning, directing, organizing, and budgeting. When it comes to interorganizational relations (e.g., centralized processing, regional reference centres), efficiency, economy, or effectiveness become double-edged swords because standards of primacy vary among libraries, thus becoming a potential source of conflict. These three dominant values tend to circumscribe thinking in library management, for there is a certain predictableness in library responses to problems: things seem to come down, in the final analysis, to money, time, and staff. Even when opportunities for large-scale changes are presented, such as the St. John Report in 1965 or the 1980-82 Programme Review, the general wisdom dictates that the Province does not have much money for libraries. This administrative rationale contributes to the apolitical environment of libraries and builds in the stability that politicians, trustees, and the public have come to expect from libraries.

The second set of values, those that deal with the quality of administration, are spoken of less often. Honesty in government is not a subject that is debatable, it is a requirement. The idea of equitableness does cause some concern with regard to access to services. At the root of the Toronto experience in the mid-1970s was the realization that services and resources were not fairly distributed among the city neighbourhood branches; indeed, on a comparative basis Toronto was no longer receiving the amount of municipal financial support that other public libraries in Ontario were getting.²⁷ Neutrality in administration continues to be a desirable quality, but with the breakdown of the policy/administration dichotomy, this simple state of affairs is changing. Administrators and trustees are emphasizing leadership ability and impartiality, not only for direction and evaluation of staff, but also for dealings with community groups and individuals. As a result, the latitude for professional discretion has widened while authoritarian management hierarchies have given way to consultative management, or, less often,

²⁶ For example, at Hamilton: Judith McAnanama, "Zero Based Budgeting: One Public Library's Experience," *Ontario Library Review* 62 (1978): 105-112.

²⁷ Janice Dineen, "Toronto 72nd in Ontario Library Rankings," *Toronto Star*, March 27, 1976, B1 summarizes both problems.

decentralized participatory management schemes in which staff and citizens may take part. 28

The third set of values relates to political relationships that have been discussed in connection with trustees in the third chapter. Representativeness can be gauged in different ways, but conflicts about its relevance in smaller organizations, like libraries, occur less often. Accountability and responsiveness are part of the broader concern with responsibility. Within the organizational structure, important distinctions about responsibility can arise. Because professionals are guided by standards that are created in the public interest, responsibility in this sense has grown more important. The Institute of Professional Librarians of Ontario (IPLO) was created in 1962 and struggled for a more than a decade to further the cause of creating a base for responsible administrative action. IPLO's purpose was set out in its private Act: ²⁹

- to promote and advance the cause of library service, and to arouse and increase public interest in, and the use of, professional library service;
- to raise the standard of library service by upholding standards for professional librarianship, and by encouraging study and research on the part of professional librarians;
- to promote and advance the interests and welfare of registered professional librarians, and to secure conditions that will make possible the best professional service;
- to cooperate with other organizations having similar objectives.

Before it disbanded in 1976, IPLO did provide statements (e.g., a Code of Ethics) and offer help in areas of labour relations and employment standards.³⁰ However, the idea of professionalism was not entirely accepted by librarians (IPLO annual membership never surpassed 500), nor was the provincial government interested in passing a public act allowing licensing, professional regulation, etc.

The Political Dimension of Administration

The three sets of values provide an analytical framework to examine the impact of professionalism in libraries in a political setting. Needless to say, there is an ongoing vigorous

²⁸ For one case, see Patricia Dewdney, *Citizen Participation in Library Planning: A Report on Public Library Needs in Northeast London* (London: London Public Libraries, Galleries, Museums, 1975).

²⁹ Institute of Professional Librarians of Ontario Act, 1962-63, 11-12 Eliz. II c. Pr 40 s. 4. The formative years of IPLO are recounted by Charles D. Kent, A Short History of the Institute of Professional Librarians (London: London Public Library and Art Museum, 1962). Also, Greg Linnell, "The Institute of Professional Librarians of Ontario: On the History and Historiography of a Professional Association," Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science 30 (Sept.-Dec. 2008): 175-99.

³⁰ For example, *Labour Relations and the Librarian* (Toronto: IPLO, 1972).

debate about the primacy of these values, the relationships between each value, and how they become operational in administrative structures. Academic interest in the question of professionalism has focused more on the attainment of professional status, the proper use of professional staff (e.g., clarity in position descriptions), and the gradual development of collective bargaining in library unions. The fact that professional education and work experience contributes to administrative uniformities in libraries (similarities in compiling bibliographic records, acquisition procedures and agents, technological applications, etc.) that help lay the foundation for networking is mostly taken for granted. However, without this particular condition cooperative projects among libraries would face immense difficulties. Professional schools provide knowledge and skills that can be applied to a variety of libraries in varying locales. The possibility of extending resources beyond a local political authority can become a reality and leads to a number of interorganizational problems, ones which the library community in Ontario have not completely mapped out or devised widely accepted solutions.

Many professionals continue to express support for the board form of governance in Ontario, in part because of the popularity of the neutral aspect of administration. But other values feed the desire for an apolitical environment. Stability and continuity are cited as advantages offered by boards, and the need for insulation from politics seems to continue to be a preference of librarians across the province. The number of professionals working in Ontario also provides a source of political quiescence. **Table 17** shows the number of professional positions and the population served during the past thirty years. The ratio of librarians per 10,000 population has not changed markedly in three decades. Library operations remain relatively small when compared with schools, health services, or municipalities. Only a handful of libraries employ more than twenty professional librarians. As a result, there is reasonably close contact with trustees and senior levels of management, and the participatory idea of representation in the organization is reinforced. A personal sense of responsibility is extended in the smaller organization: decision making at all levels assumes an added weight when one is more knowledgeable of the consequences. The smaller scale of operations and decision-making plays an important part in support for the existing political and administrative structures.

For these reasons, support for the traditional board form of governance is built into the administrative system. It is created at the theoretical level of organizational thinking—especially systems theory—and by the general philosophical positions of the main actors. Lay members on boards often favour pragmatic decisions, the common belief that if something works successfully it should not be tampered with too much. On the other hand, librarians normally bring a scientific

³¹ Olga B. Bishop, *The Use of Professional Staff in Libraries: A Review 1923-1971* (Ottawa: CLA, 1973); and J.P. Wilkinson, "The Division of Labour," *Ontario Library Review* 41 (1957): 87-88.

analysis and empirical approach to solving or analyzing problems. As a result, administrative practices rely on methodological practices and induction from observations, both of which tend to constrict the range of analysis. In the administrative field, the conservative orientation of theories and philosophies contributes to the position that continuity, homeostasis, or traditional political arrangements are desirable. Innovation, change, and creativity are not scorned by any means especially in technical applications. However, there is scant documentation on some projects based on suggestions that would expand the library's role substantially, such as assuming the general role of a community information centre.³² It is not difficult to see why a 1962 *Toronto Globe and Mail* article depicted librarians as a rather tranquil group and offered some prescriptive advice:

Finally, we have the professional libraries. These people have to be as well qualified as high school teachers, but they have a mistaken idea that professional ethics in the book field requires them to preserve a discreet silence, or at any rate, a virtual inaudibility. There are a few welcome exceptions to this generalization, but what librarians need more than anything else is a new concept of dignity. Dignity is not submission; it is pride. It is not a masterful withdrawal, it is an absolute determination to be heard and respected.³³

Too often, the ethic of 'library neutrality' has imposed quietude or reliance on internal processes about public issues that might spark interest at large.

The conservatism of library administration has preserved some formidable strength that helps sustain libraries even under the most difficult financial circumstances. The most important belief is an indestructible feeling that libraries exist to serve the individual. It is an article of faith that libraries have a deep personal commitment to patrons: the 1981 OLA convention theme was 'Libraries Celebrate the Individual.' Professional desires, management practices, and organizational structures are well designed to serve public needs. The idea of proactive administration is also evident. Promotion of services has always been a strong point, the old idea of a 'library movement' and 'library extension' to rural areas has today's counterparts in demands for better multilingual services; services for natives, the disadvantaged, illiterate, and so on. Thus, the desire for reducing disparities of service is as strong today as when Anne Hume described the work of Windsor librarians shortly after the war. Hume emphasized the need for librarians to strive toward better services for the public: "a great responsibility falls on the librarian to see that they have all the services they need." For her, the library's purpose was bound up in the democratic process, and librarians were obliged to emphasize the profession's service orientation.

³² For example, the Bureau of Municipal Research, *The Public Library as a Community Information Centre: The Case of the London Urban Resource Centre* (Toronto: BMR, 1978).

³³ J. Bascom St. John, "How to Get Better Libraries," *Globe and Mail*, April 10, 1962, 7.

³⁴ Anne Hume, "The Librarian in the Community," Quill & Quire 14 (Oct. 1948): 18.

The interpretation and description of administrative workings in this section have concentrated on what appears to be most relevant to the political sphere. It includes information on values in administration, professional views, and the interaction between the public and libraries. There is less concern for management techniques that internalize thinking about libraries. The analysis of administrative patterns is intended to be exploratory, but it is important to realize that satisfying public needs depends on a spirations that can only be achieved in a political context by a variety of actors.

It therefore follows that a very high level of librarianship, intelligent and able planning by public library trustees and financial support from local and provincial sources, are essential to establish the public library as a valuable community resource, respected and appreciated by all.³⁵

Librarianship is changing and evolving. Good public library service requires individuals who perform well in a political environment that includes municipal politicians and lay board members. However, professionals need to continue devising new administrative ideas in Ontario that look beyond the local community control and local funding. If resource sharing is to be extended beyond materials and reference to staff development, acquisitions, or other services, then the administrative values addressed in this section need to be refashioned in politically acceptable terms to suit future public demands.

³⁵ William G. Davis, "The Public Library," *Municipal World* 77 (1967): 201.

7. TRUSTEESHIP, THE INTERNET, AND THE DIGITAL LIBRARY

In the quarter-century following passage of the *Public Libraries Act*, 1984 there were few changes to library legislation. On the other hand, there were many changes in libraries stemming from new library practices, technological improvements, and public administration thought. As the 'New Public Management' philosophy swept through federal and provincial administrations after the mid-1980s, reliance on normative library standards, lengthy legislative provisions, and provincial direction of libraries receded. The new management theory stressed the economic side of government activity in search of cost-efficiencies and cost-effectiveness, rather than governance processes or administrative structures. By 2000, the major features of NPM downsizing and realignments were evident in the library community.

- use of agencies: the controlled employment of scheduled agencies at arm's length from the government, e.g. OLS and OLS-North;
- user fees: increasing reliance on charging for services;
- devolution: the transfer of responsibility for delivering or planning service to other levels of government or organizations (a.k.a. 'stakeholders') that receive transfer payments for specific purposes;
- outsourcing and contracting out: the use of contracts with commercial firms while maintaining accountability for services and paring staff expenditures;
- partnerships: formal agreement to provide services with other parties thereby sharing problems, risks, and rewards, e.g. building projects;
- privatization: using private-sector companies for public services while having oversight for the public interest.

Library trustees often could recognize these fundamental shifts in thought from their personal workplace activities, newspaper articles, and evening television reports that became more business oriented. But in the library community some of the underlying schools influencing NPM, such as 'public choice theory' or 'policy studies,' received little attention although they challenged (or more often ignored) many ideas inherent in public library work (e.g., 'free' public access) which is funded primarily at the municipal level where national or provincial policy

¹ See Ontario Management Board of Cabinet, *Alternative Service Delivery Framework* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1996); and Peter Aucoin, *The New Public Management: Canada in Comparative Perspective* (Montreal: Institute for Research in Public Policy, 1995).

initiatives often take place.²

A typical policy analysis study influencing public opinion appeared in 2000. Crafted by the C.D. Howe Institute, a right-of-centre think tank, it commented specifically on existing charges for local services and municipal funding for library services in a relatively simple manner—local revenue amounted to a 'subsidy' to libraries.

This subsidy [municipal tax funding] makes sense only if significant and positive externalities arise from the existence of public libraries. Clearly, positive externalities do exist, both because libraries provide easy access to a v ast collection of resources and because a more educated society creates a better environment in which to live. Substantial private benefits, however, also accrue directly to the users of library services. Thus, it is difficult to justify the degree of general funding currently provided. A better policy would be one consisting of a usage charge approximating the marginal private cost of each visit plus a provincial government subsidy covering the spillover benefits that extend beyond the local community.³

Clearly, the off-cited criticisms of policy analysis—that it oversimplifies matters and offers readers relatively few options for decision-making purposes—could be applied to many of these studies for public libraries, especially when decisions on local government activity are often made centrally around Queen's Park.

Aside from intermittent legislation and policy formation, the Province's conditional transfer payment to boards and special purpose grants remained the prime method of equalizing service across Ontario, a safety net and more. Already, in the provincial-municipal structure of the early 1980s, overarching programs, business related initiatives such as 'Wintario' and the 'Board of Industrial Leadership,' often developed courses of action at the local level. The halcyon days of energetic government ambitions and achievements—Ontario Place, the Science Centre (Ontario's official Centennial project), OHIP (provincial medical insurance), the Ontario Arts Council, TV Ontario, Ontario Agricultural Museum, Ontario Heritage Foundation, Art Gallery of Ontario, to name a few—had reached an end. The idea that taxes could be translated into collective goods that most individuals could not afford in isolation was being supplanted by a suspicion of the insatiable need for revenue by public authorities. Library boards strove to

² Two exceptions are Karen Adams and William F. Birdsall, eds., *Understanding Telecommunications and Public Policy: A Guide for Libraries* (Ottawa: CLA, 1998); and Heidi Julien and Michelle Helliwell, "Libraries as Instruments of Information Policy: The Role of Canadian Public Libraries in 'Connecting Canadians,'" in *Beyond the Web: Technologies, Knowledge and People* (Toronto: Canadian Association for Information Science, 2001), 111-20.

³ Harry Kitchen, "Municipal Finance in a New Fiscal Environment," *C.D. Howe Institute Commentary* 147 (Nov. 2000): 16.

make a case about their value to the public sector in the face of this overarching, popular consensus about government activity.

Over the course of two decades, Ontario's population continued to increase—from 9.2 million in 1985 to 13.2 million in 2010—and library trustees and boards would face several key challenges. First, provincial-municipal relationships continued to evolve by emphasizing old and new priorities. Not surprisingly, there were calls for greater accountability. The *Public Libraries* Act, 1984 had been a cautious compromise; still, the independence of boards and mode of appointments were issues that continued to fester, but with less antipathy. There were funding reductions at the provincial and municipal levels, as Ontario moved through major recessions in the early 1990s and again in 2008-09. As library activities came under careful scrutiny in the search for efficiencies and economies, the issue of user fees versus free access reappeared. Libraries had always collected incidental charges but, during recessions, it seemed 'everything was on the table' at the same time that libraries were attempting to offer improved or new services with fewer staff and declines in funding. While circulation of print materials did decrease, library use climbed when remote services, e.g. virtual reference, and electronic resources are considered. Most importantly, in the 1990s the streamlining and restructuring of local government resumed. Amalgamating libraries had to work collaboratively to provide services for newly conceived municipal entities, such as North Perth, Quinte West, or Mississippi Mills.

Second, the leadership for public libraries in Ontario, originally coordinated by the libraries branch within various provincial ministries, gradually devolved after 1990. To replace the transitional OLS areas, the provincial government created the Southern Ontario Library Service and Ontario Library Service-North in 1989 to deliver its programs and services. The responsibilities for SOLS and OLS-N were essentially the same as legislation for OLS boards in 1984. They were to increase cooperation and coordination among public library boards and information providers. As well, they were directed to assist library boards by providing them with needed services and programs, including consultation, training and development. With the decline and disappearance of the LCIB in 1995, the direction of various aspects of public library service in Ontario was left to a number of agencies and, indeed, to the public libraries themselves. An alternative course for central direction and leadership was devised: strategic planning by stakeholders. Since 1990, with the publication of *One Place to Look*, successive planning exercises and statements responded to potential problems and provided forecasts for future actions. This work has led to provincial support for network and digital content development in building electronic and digital libraries for the 21st century.

Third, there were new legal responsibilities to consider and a greater emphasis on boards as employers. An early harbinger of this trend was the appearance of a Ministry of Citizenship and Culture publication, *Libraries and Law*, in 1986, to assist trustees and staff to cope with legislation pertaining to library operations. Increasing unionization and necessary changes involved with employment equity legislation, employment standards, and access to information kept many boards engaged in budget deliberations and legal questions that included municipal bodies. In addition, federal revisions of statutes on copyright and censorship raised new issues concerning freedom to read and access to protected materials. In the era of computer storage and video surveillance, issues of privacy and access to information became more important. Progressive advances in technology allowed the ability of digital systems to store and utilize incredible amounts of information; thereby opening a myriad of possibilities for tracking the activities of individuals and their personal interests, such as book circulation or online viewing of resources in a library.

Fourth, with increasing complexity in technology and challenges posed by digital transmission of information and the pervasive influence of the Internet, the pace of change accelerated. Information communications technology—the Internet, wireless networks, smartphones, and other communication mediums such as radio, television, computer network hardware and software—made rapid advances in digital transmission after the mid-1990s; and, combined with the new social media of 'Web 2.0,' have confronted libraries and trustees with many issues. Boards have explored a broader role with the help of IT to benefit entire communities. Partnerships have developed between libraries, municipalities, and community groups. The ubiquitous nature of the Internet has raised questions regarding access to information, privacy, and 'policing' of premises. In a digital era greatly influenced by technical innovation, new types of collections based on compact disks, video disks, electronic books, and subscriptions to remote databases would be necessary to maintain their constituencies. Constant upgrades to hardware and software along with virtual services (e.g., reference) and continuous educational training for staff would be necessary to keep abreast of changes.

Finally, from a trustee perspective, continuous training along with orientation and board development have assumed more importance since the late 1980s. Today, there are many more resources available on the main practices of governance, trustee representation, oversight, stewardship, policy-making, planning, and advocacy than in any period before. For many years, the duties and qualities of trusteeship were always highlighted in orientations, meetings, publications, seminars, and conference workshops to the benefit of many laypersons serving on boards. Now a heightened emphasis on 'board development'—the processes of working together, establishing priorities, selecting and evaluating CEOs, and concentrating on policy

matters—assumed greater significance. Fortunately, throughout the period after 1985 trustees could turn to consultant reports, policy statements, and new workbook-style manuals offering many resources. Books, then the Internet, allowed easy access to checklists for evaluating chief librarians, board minutes, chairing meetings, and dozens of other responsibilities as well as samples of policy statements, action plans, and mission statements.⁴

Nonetheless, older themes and approaches did not give way. A long line of tradition stretching back to the nineteenth century continued to underpin new ideas introduced by the familiar mantra, 'the public library is changing.' In fact, the public library continued to be a valuable community resource to promote and safeguard.

The prospective trustee should have a desire to see the library prosper in the community and be prepared to commit to making that happen; this as an ethical responsibility. The new trustee must be aware of the valuable role that the library plays in the community and be prepared to promote that at all times. Also, individual Board members, knowing and believing in the library's purpose and value, must advocate for the principles of Intellectual Freedom and Freedom of Information when challenges to those rights arise. Together these ethical considerations might be terms: 'The spirit of public library trusteeship.' 5

Trusteeship is complex in nature and a continuous learning process, yet there are many fundamentals common to policy-making, planning, stewardship, and advocacy.

Provincial-Municipal Relationships and Restructuring

The *Public Libraries Act, 1984* had compromised on l ibrary governance without satisfying all parties. Accountability issues erupted from time to time. Too often, trustees were viewed as 'middlemen' who were somewhat detached from public support and ill suited to set policies, to account for extensive expenditures, or to understand labour practices. Debates as to whether library service was better served by an independent board or by a department within local government continued. Some commentators said boards needed to be more active in seeking public support or establishing consensus for library priorities and protecting intellectual freedom. Concurrently, an academic study revealed that libraries administered by trustees were not significantly different from municipally integrated libraries in terms of centralization and complexity because library professionals in board or municipally integrated settings normally participated in decision-making. In fact, librarians in municipal integrated settings could

⁴ For example, Sue Dutton, *The Effective Trustee Handbook* (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1987).

⁵ Randee Loucks, *The Ontario Library Trustee's Handbook*, rev. ed., (Toronto: OLA Press, 2001), 29.

⁶ Don H. Caplan, "Beyond Governance," Canadian Library Journal 48 (1991): 301-04.

demonstrate a stronger belief in public service. By this analysis, from a day-to-day operational standpoint, the board form of governance did not offer a significant advantage. Nonetheless, board status continued to be the norm for librarians and trustees who preferred to establish strong trustee-CEO working relationships locally and to invest in educational programs through the OLA or CLA. A major work on trusteeship published by CLA in 1987 set forth the argument for this traditional style.

The participatory board is one in which trustees develop their own relationships with individuals and groups in the library, whether staff or patron. They do this because they consider it essential to get this kind of background and 'shop talk' in order to have a feel of the institution and personally experience the effectiveness of the management team that is implementing policy.⁸

Clearly, after many decades, librarians in administration roles and boards of trustees had forged a 'creative balance' that was difficult to displace.

This long-lasting arrangement had heartfelt and pervasive support across the Province according to a contemporary survey of chief administrators in the early 1990s. The province's boards had firmly established political roots through a heritage of public control based on voluntarism and community service. Studies revealed that library professionals in boards or municipal integrated frameworks were active participants in decision-making processes. As well, there were no obvious differences in either structure between levels of centralization (i.e., the participation in decision-making and decisions concerning one's own work), complexity or specialization, and professional attitudes. Transference of library control to committees of council could be a thorny issue in localities where council and special purpose bodies exercised varying degrees of power and influence. In fact, municipal councils were not unanimous in their support for abolition of boards. An Ontario Public Library Week focus group study of councillors in 1992 confirmed support for the continuance of boards among many councillors, who often held libraries in high regard. The province of the continuance of boards among many councillors, who often held libraries in high regard.

A critical test to compromise and harmony came from Mississauga in the early 1990s. Because the city spent millions of dollars on a central library, the mayor, most councillors, and a

⁷ Diane Mittermeyer, "Public Libraries: Boards Don't Make a Difference," *Canadian Library Journal* 43 (1986): 434-35.

⁸ Lorraine M. Williams, *The Library Trustee and the Public Librarian: Partners in Service* (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1987), 82.

⁹ Alexander Cameron, Betsy Cornwell, and Joanne Tate, "Public Library Boards and Chief Librarians: A Creative Balance," *Canadian Library Journal* 49 (1992): 135-39.

¹⁰ Diane Mittermeyer, "Public Library Administration and the Involvement of Professional Staff in the Decision-making Process," *Library and Information Science Research* (July 1989):143-72.

¹¹ Ursula Benoit, John Slater, and Stan Skrzeszewski, *What Do Municipal Councillors Think About Their Public Libraries?* (September 1992), 16-19.

majority of library trustees felt the city should have more control. Mississauga council requested the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture to set more specific criteria by which it would not oppose a special bill giving direct control to council. In effect, Mississauga attempted to put the onus on the ministry to proceed with its own efforts on local consensus. The ministry replied with several points in January 1992 that reinforced its argument to avoid disagreement. Mississauga persisted, however, by bringing forward a private member's bill in June 1993, *An Act Respecting the City of Mississauga*, to establish a committee of council. The Ontario Library Trustees' Association vigorously opposed the bill at hearings in April 1994 and even maintained that semi-independent boards offered some shelter for councils "on hard questions without fear of political pressure or later political reprisal." As well, the ministry issued a statement contesting the bill's status on consensus pointing out that the city had not received approval from the Canadian Union of Public Employees and that the library board had eventually withdrawn its support. The bill died on the legislative order paper shortly afterwards. 14

One of the largest municipalities in Ontario had been defeated in a struggle to replace citizen-based boards. But the issue remained. Later, in the same year as the Mississauga debate, the assets of the Lambton library system (including the old city of Sarnia) were assumed by the county and it formally became a committee of council through legislative action. ¹⁵ Many boards considered their position a tenuous one because regional-county politicians and municipal councils typically held the upper hand in political disagreements or municipal restructuring exercises. ¹⁶ Most county library systems were closely integrated with municipal administrative schemes and two—Lennox & Addington and Elgin—had already applied successfully to have county council act as the library board before 1990.

Concerns on board status abated for a short time when Ontario voters endorsed the 'Common Sense Revolution' Conservative leader Mike Harris advocated in 1995. The fundamentals underlying his election plan were to balance the provincial budget and downsize government in order to reduce taxes. For trustees, the specter of user fees quickly re-emerged, especially in the Greater Toronto Area.¹⁷ In a few years, Ontario's entire political culture would

¹² Ministry of Culture and Communications Position Statement on Public Library Boards Being Replaced by Committees of Council, January 1992 (Toronto: MCC, 1992).

¹³ OLTA, Bill Pr46 An Act Respecting the City of Mississauga (Toronto: OLA, April 13, 1994), 4.

¹⁴ Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Standing Committee on Regulations and Private Bills, *Official Report of Debates*, Bill Pr46, April 13, 1994, T-212 to T-222.

¹⁵ County of Lambton Act, 1994, 43 Eliz. II c. Pr31.

¹⁶ Diane Mittermeyer, "The Public Library Boards of Trustees versus the Committees of City Council: A Power Game," *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science* 19 (April 1994): 1-17.

¹⁷ Michelle Shephard, "Tory Cuts Forcing Libraries to Consider Charging Readers," *Toronto Star*, September 28, 1995, NY edition, 1 and 5.

be reshaped. Initially, the realities of less government and needs-based financing became clear to libraries in November 1995 when the first stage of funding cuts announced that library per household grants would be reduced by 20% in 1996/97 at the same time that special project grants for libraries and the OLS would be eliminated. Later, in April 1996, a dditional expenditure reductions announced that per household grants again were reduced by 20% for 1997/98. Two years of drastic reductions saw the total provincial transfer to libraries fall from \$35.9 million in 1995 to \$20.2 million in 1997—about the same level enjoyed in the mid-1970s.

These reductions presented a serious revenue loss. The two OLS agencies lost \$2.7 million and promptly eliminated staff positions, closed offices, curtailed training and development, and reduced marketing services. Another casualty was the Libraries and Community Information Branch; it disappeared as a separate entity in December 1995. An era of public library leadership at the provincial level, stretching back to the Department of Education's Public Libraries Branch established before the First World War had ended. The LCIB merged with the Cultural Liaison Branch to form the Cultural Partnerships Branch in the new Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation. Its residual focus became data collection, administering grants, and assistance with public library policy.

The horizon quickly clouded with other serious threats, notably the very existence of boards and free access after Bill 26, The Savings and Restructuring Act, came to the legislature. This bill was complex and contentious. Some of its provisions allowed municipalities to submit proposals for restructuring to the Minister of Municipal Affairs to make amalgamations and elimination of special purpose boards easier. It also allowed councils more latitude to charge service fees. For many years, despite the debate on free services underpinning the Public Libraries Act, 1984, a variety of media formats besides books and newspapers (e.g., sound recordings, audio and video cassettes, tape recordings, video discs, motion pictures, film strips, computer software, and multi-media kits) were designated to be free by Ontario Regulation 100/85.18 This measure did not rule out charging fees for online information service or community programs. According to a 1987 study commission by the Association of Library Boards of Ontario, library trustees indicated that free access to materials was a "mixed blessing" and might be a potential problem for lost revenue. 19 Over the years there were challenges to freely circulating materials. In Hamilton, in 1992, alderman Dominic Agostino protested that the library should not be supplying free, popular first-rate video entertainment, citing Field Of Dreams and Pretty Woman. He argued the library was in competition with video stores throughout the city. "In this time of difficult financial restraints, I do not believe this to be a

¹⁸ Regulation 100/85 published on 16 March 1985 in the *Ontario Gazette*.

¹⁹ Jean Tague-Sutcliffe and Roma M. Harris, *Impact of the 1984 Ontario Public Libraries Act: A Study for Association of Library Boards of Ontario, April 1987* (London, 1987), 1-11.

good use of taxpayer money to continue this practice' Mr. Agostino said in a letter to the chairman."²⁰ Although he received support from local video outlet owners, popular videos remained in the library. At first sight, user fees seemed to be an obvious way to increase revenue but there were many issues to sort out.

The OLA, especially OLTA, which created a lobbying booklet demonstrating its own political self-interest, forcefully opposed Bill 26 at hearings in December 1995 by objecting to arrangements made on "political priorities instead of community and service needs." At its policy forum earlier in the year, OLA had adopted a staunch policy on free public library core services for 1) searching knowledge resources, finding information, reading readiness, and literacy; 2) learner support service; 3) physical access to public library facilities; and 4) borrowing items deemed to be lendable by a public library, irrespective of material types. The association also reminded the government about its two-decade old policy that boards remain in place unless there was local agreement. 22

Due to this active lobbying, when Bill 26 received Royal Assent in January 1996, library boards were exempted from the section on dissolution of local boards by a new regulation. Although the section on fees for services remained in Bill 26, it did not override Regulation 976 of the *Public Libraries Act* that stipulated what libraries must provide free in order to receive a provincial grant. In February, at OLA's Super Conference, the Minister, Marilyn Mushinksi, said she had received 650 letters and 2,500 s ignatures on petitions concerning conditional grants, board governance, and user fees. As result, she had secured an exemption for public library boards in order to allow an interval for consultation on Bill 26. It was time to revisit core services, user fees, and board governance. In theory it would be possible for boards to implement user fees because Bill 26 took precedence over the *Public Libraries Act*. But, by doing so, a library board resorting to fees would no longer receive a provincial grant because it was contingent on free basic library services. Provincial conditional grants remained an important source of revenue, much more so than potential income from user fees.

Libraries received a respite from Bill 26 but there was cause for unease later in fall 1996. In an interview, the Minister said:

²⁰ Ken Peters, "Alderman Urges Public Library to Get Out of the Video Business," *Hamilton Spectator*, August 18, 1992, B1.

²¹ A Plan to Maintain Ontario's Library Boards (Toronto: OLA, 1996), 2.

²² OLA presentation reported in Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Standing Committee on General Government, *Official Report of Debates*, December 22, 1995, GS-284 to GS-288.

²³ "Minister's Remarks, February 10, 1996, Ontario Library Association Super Conference," (Toronto: the Ministry, 1996).

No final decision on the shape of the legislation has been made, Marilyn Mushinski said, but some kind of 'freeing up' of the law to let municipalities raise library revenue is on its way.

The options being considered include permitting annual membership dues, fees for all library services, fees for inter-library loans and fees for selected items such as CDs, sources said.

'There is a lot of merit to changing the existing system or the status quo because it really doesn't work,' Mushinski said.²⁴

By the end of summer, it was common knowledge libraries were part of the government's new Who Does What Task Force that was examining provincial-municipal relationships, including libraries. A statement from the Task Force in December outlined a decision to give municipal councils the right to determine library board governance and to allow charges for "Internet access, photocopying, research, and so on" without supporting evidence. The panel did not study whether previous efforts were successful in raising additional revenue; for example, Windsor had little success when it charged a \$30 non-resident fee in surrounding Essex County in the early 1990s. The panel of the pane

The 'Who Does What' panel letter preceded the introduction of Bill 109, *The Local Control of Public Libraries Act*, during a tumultuous week in January 1997 when several major bills were announced. Bill 109 struck at the heart of many traditional public library ideals and practices. It introduced measures that accorded with technological developments and the alternative delivery service philosophy inherent in New Public Management ideas, namely

- boards: a public library to be governed by a library board that is a corporation;
- board composition: no requirement that citizens must constitute a majority of the members of library boards;
- board powers: public libraries enabled to link to the province-wide public library network and work in cooperation with other libraries;
- provincial grants: to be phased out over time;

13.

 CEOs: removed the process for administrative responsibilities for former board officers, Chief Executive Officer, Secretary, or Treasurer by only specifying the need for a Chief Officer;

²⁴ "Ontario to Pave Way for Fees at Libraries," *Toronto Star*, October 19, 1996, A3.

²⁵ Mary Land, "Ontario Libraries Fight to Save Boards," Quill & Quire 62 (September 1995): 12-

²⁶ Report of the Who Does What Panel (Toronto: Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Dec. 1996), unpaged.

²⁷ Lee Palser, "The Windsor Public Library: Crowded Shelves, Conflicting Philosophies," *Windsor Star*, August 4, 1990, E1.

- free access: allowed for new regulations to replace Regulation 976 of the *Public Libraries Act*. A new regulation would specify those services for which a fee could not be charged;
- regulations: removed provision of provincial oversight on the conditions for payments of grants and circulation of library materials; and the establishment, organization, premises and rules for public libraries.

The Minister was quoted as saying, "We believe—from the perspective of getting out of the face of municipalities, who are the primary funders of library service—that this is a good start." Opposition legislature members quickly rejected the government's argument about improving services and clarifying local control. The OLA and many boards set out to fight Bill 109 with whatever resources they could muster. "You might as well take the 'public' out of the name," said Lynne Jordon, at the Kingston Public Library, where a grassroots opposition to user fees and abolition of library boards produced a petition and postcards to Queen's Park bearing some 6,000 signatures. 29

From a government standpoint, the new library legislation followed a familiar pattern and accorded well with the accountability argument. The province would guarantee free borrowing of books and other print material by residents, and special format materials for residents with disabilities. Libraries would not necessarily have to charge for other services. Notably, boards were retained. However, the issue of free access to electronic resources provided by the provincially sponsored network remained 'iffy' at best. Intellectual freedom concerns, which most people agreed councils were less interested in guarding, were another focal point. Thus, the rationale for Bill 109, along with its major proposals, was open to compelling criticisms. There were many opponents, few proponents, to Bill 109 when public hearings commenced. Most briefs opposed its substance and advocated a citizen majority on boa rds, free access to information regardless of format, confidentiality of records, and provincial support for networking. But, the government moved ahead: third reading took place in September and the government indicated its preference to use a procedure to restrict debate under a time allocation motion for a quick vote. Bill 109 would come into law on December 1, 1997 or when it received Royal Assent (whichever came first).

²⁸ Mary Land, "Ontario Proposes Overhaul of Libraries Act," *Quill & Quire* 63 (March 1997): 14.

²⁹ Susan Walker, "Danger Ahead for Free-library Legacy?" *Toronto Star*, February 10, 1996, H3.

³⁰ All presentations in Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Standing Committee on General Government, *Official Report of Debates*, G-3555 to G-3768. Val Ross, "Budget Cuts Mark End of Chapter in Library History," *Globe and Mail*, March 1, 1997, C2; and Val Ross, "Rural Libraries Fear New Legislation," *Globe and Mail*, May 24, 1997, C2.

There were editorials and news stories in all major newspapers during Bill 109's legislative course. Most comments decried its provisions for reductions in free service and provincial transfers. The downloading of various social funding responsibilities from the province to the municipal sector had become a controversial process. Stories about efforts to attract corporate sponsorships—Golden Arches astride library entrances or blatant use of corporate names, Burger King or Nintendo, for designated areas—only added to the belief that the entire process was a "dumbsizing." Then, in a cabinet shuffle in October 1997, Isabel Bassett, a moderate Conservative from Toronto, was appointed as a new Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation. Shortly afterwards, she made a bombshell announcement at OLA's annual Policy Forum in November that the government was shelving Bill 109. "There was almost unanimous criticism about certain things in the bill during the hearing stage," she said and "We looked at it and thought the best way to ensure a good library system was to withdraw the bill." The fate of Bill 109 was not lamented in the library community.

In retrospect, the arguments in Bill 109 about local control by councils, which already had a firm grip over boards, may have been outweighed by the fact that local authorities in small municipalities would have to assume complete responsibility for local library expenditures. This was a particularly acute problem in rural and northern areas, where tax bases were low and the state of library automation and Internet access—expensive propositions—lagged behind urban levels. If many municipalities chose not to fund libraries adequately or to reduce their transfers as the province had done, broader programs might falter due to low participation. As well, the Province had already achieved its original reduction targets for libraries and realized it need not continue to raise the provincial household grant to libraries on an annual basis. It could gradually reduce its proportion of support to local boards and redirect its resources to other library projects. Bill 109 was one of the few examples where the philosophy and rhetoric of the 'Common Sense Revolution' was checked by opposing views and practical political realities. The public library system had avoided a fundamental redesign of familiar administrative structures and functions. It had escaped complete elimination of provincial conditional grants to local boards and increased dependence on charges for user services. It had not escaped, however, reductions in services or jurisdictional changes due to municipal restructuring that had accompanied Ontario's 'revolution.'

³¹ Michele Landsberg, "Read it and Weep: Province's Dumb-sizing Hits Library," *Toronto Star*, November 3, 1996, A2; and Doug Saunders, "Corporate Identity to Cover Library," *Globe and Mail*, October 23, 1996, A1.

³² Elizabeth Renzetti, "Librarians Amazed as Ontario Tories Withdraw Bill 109," *Globe and Mail*, November 13, 1997, D5.

The process of restructuring and simplifying municipal government proceeded through 1997. The most controversial amalgamation was Bill 103, the 'Megacity' legislation that consolidated seven Toronto jurisdictions into one unified city. The new City of Toronto would be established on 1 January 1998. A library amalgamation team from the Metro reference library, Toronto, and five area boards worked to plan for an orderly transition in the face of a projected \$5 million combined library deficit. There were, of course, many difficulties: two former boards, York and Etobicoke, were not unionized; all had central facilities; and there were four different computer systems for seven area libraries. In summer, the Metro Council asked the government to provide a specific Toronto exemption to levy extra charges on users, perhaps even an annual fee of \$5-\$10 per family, but "not more than \$20." The request was not successful. At the start of 1998, the new Toronto Public Library became one of the largest public library systems in North America serving more than 2 million people through its 97 branches and central reference library that held more than 9 million items. The Metro Council finance office anticipated the library would have to trim more than 200 positions from 1998-2001 to meet projected amalgamation budget requirements. Most the 'savings' were to come from positions made redundant during the merger process or from retirement schemes.³⁴

Beyond the Megacity maelstrom, other municipal mergers occurred across Ontario that altered the traditional city and separated-town county divisions that had frustrated library planners in the postwar period. New municipal identities were in the course of development as the geography of communities underwent realignment to simplify local government. Between 1996 and 2001, the number of municipalities decreased by almost half, from 815 to 447. Ontario municipal restructuring introduced painful reassessments about existing library branches and larger administrative systems. Kingston-Frontenac and Chatham-Kent area were prominent cases in 1998, followed by Ottawa-Nepean-Carleton in 2000. Hamilton's amalgamation was prolonged after 1996, but finally, on 1 January 2001, the old Hamilton Public Library with the libraries in former Wentworth County and the town of Dundas merged to become the new Hamilton Public Library serving almost 500,000 residents. In the north, when the new town of Greenstone formed, its library board became responsible for branches at Beardmore, Geraldton,

33 "Fees Urged for Megacity Library Users," *Toronto Star*, June 14, 1997, A4.

³⁴ John Lorinc, "Merged Libraries Cut 3%," *Quill & Quire* 64 (June 1998): 20; and John Lorinc, "Amalgamation Brings Major Changes to TPL," *Quill & Quire* 65 (Oct.1999): 10-11.

³⁵ For an overview see, T.J. Downey and R.J. Williams, "Provincial Agendas, Local Responses: The 'Common Sense' Restructuring of Ontario's Municipal Governments," *Canadian Public Administration* 41 (1998): 210–38.

³⁶ Marcel Giroux, "Kingston Public Library Joins Frontenac Public Library," *Access (OLA)* 6 (Fall 1999): 15-18; Phil Jenkins, *Shelf Life: The Short, Full Story of the Nepean Public Library* (Ottawa: Ottawa Public Library, 2005), 53-61; and Sally E. Scherer, "Chatham Public Library Joins Kent County Public Library," *Access (OLA)* 6 (Fall 1999): 20-24.

Longlac, and Nakina. In 2001, G reater Sudbury was created by amalgamating the former municipalities in the old Regional Municipality of Sudbury with several unincorporated townships to become the largest city in northern Ontario with 155,000 people.

The wave of restructuring produced larger library systems with transitional problems; but, for some jurisdictions, amalgamation funds were available for libraries. Chatham-Kent's new \$200,000 a utomated Ameritech-Dynix system was paid from these funds when its ten libraries integrated into one system in 1999. The Some former counties without county library boards—Prince Edward, Norfolk, Brant, and Haldimand—reorganized as single-tier municipalities that retained their previous name and operated unified library administrations. When the former county, Victoria, became the city of Kawartha Lakes by adopting a single-tier structure in 2000, library service was extended to all communities. In 2001, when Haldimand formed through the amalgamation of several communities, its council passed a resolution recognizing the autonomous status of the library board but directed the library to utilize its services where possible. Some towns, villages, and townships in older counties (eg. in Huron, Simcoe, Bruce, Middlesex, and Wellington) were restructured, but the county boards were retained. These changes simplified administration in former county areas. They also brought a number of larger towns into unified areas for library service, thus making provision of resources more equitable.

While the restructuring exercise unfolded across the province, efforts to reduce library expenditures by county councils during this period of realignment were often met with strong opposition, e.g. in Essex County where a proposal to close several branches was nixed. ³⁹ Some systems were dissolved and their assets and collections reassigned, e.g. Northumberland. ⁴⁰ The 'Common Sense Revolution' had a lasting impact on Ontario's government and public services, but paradoxically, for libraries, it d id not always mean smaller-sized municipal entities or savings. Often, larger units of service and expanded service roles for libraries in new administrative arrangements were determined by local reviews and by council support in the restructured municipalities. As the provincial government sought to rationalize local government, boards continued to experience change. For example, in an effort to simplify the composition of public library boards, union boards, and county library systems, legislation removed the distinction between small and large municipalities. The *Government Efficiency Act*, 2002,

³⁷ Andy Johnston, "Library System Almost Complete," *Chatham Daily News*, July 29, 1999, 1.

³⁸ Resolution reprinted in "Building Effective Relationships between the Library and the Municipality," *Trustee Tips (SOLS)* no.25 (Nov. 2003): 2-4.

³⁹ Doug Schmidt, "Libraries' Closure Plans Spark Protests," Windsor Star, June 20, 1996, B1.

⁴⁰ Valerie MacDonald, "County Recommends Audit of Closing Library System," *Cobourg Daily Star*, April 6, 2000, 6.

adjusted the composition of all boards to at least five persons with no upper limit imposed by statute. The same Act also stipulated that school board representation would no longer be required on public library boards, a process that had begun thirty years before when school boards themselves began to be restructured on a county and regional basis.

By the last decade of the 20th century, the shrinking role of public services had become the mantra of government at all levels. Fees for services along with adoption of contemporary business values and privatization threatened long-standing library principles. Some trends, for example outsourcing, were not entirely new. Libraries had a long experience with jobbers and wholesale firms to order and process materials—but the scale of activity now accelerated. As well, the erosion of library trustees power seemed destined to continue. Even the disappearance of boards was a plausible scenario. There were genuine reasons for pessimism, but also for optimism. Although the 'library without walls' was a popular expression, new library buildings, for example in Brantford, Barrie, and Richmond Hill, continued to open. More importantly, leadership in library associations and libraries prepared appropriate responses on many fronts to promote library work. After 1992 'Libraries Advance Ontario' became a successful OLA initiative to promote the economic, cultural, and educational value libraries contributed to their community life. This promotional exercise successfully expressed the view that libraries were an active part of social life and living in Ontario. Trustees could point to the obvious: public libraries were a collective community institution operated for individual benefit.

During the same period, to bolster trustee competence on a local basis, the OLTA introduced the 'policy governance' model advocated by John Carver. After he spoke at OLA's 1992 conference, the association sponsored regional workshops to promote his concepts and to reinforce board teamwork and direction. The Carver model emphasized a clearer policy determination role for trustees in place of the broader standard governance model that also encompassed legislative duties, political structures, and some activity in administration. In its place, Carver stressed that boards should concentrate on developing four policy areas: organizational values and ends (mission); roles and processes boards utilize (duties); executive limitations on staff operations (control); and board-staff relationships (CEO delegation). In effect, by emphasizing their formal linkages with councils, by actively developing policy, and by

⁴¹ Karen Harrison, "Library Fees: Never Say Never?" Quill & Quire 61 (May 1995): 13.

⁴² Mary Land, "Wholesalers Gaining Clout as Libraries Cut Costs," *Quill & Quire* 62 (Dec. 1996): 10.

⁴³ Wil Vanderelst, "An Expanding Future," *Access (OLA)* 5 (Winter 1999): 8-10.

⁴⁴ Libraries Advance Ontario (Toronto: OLA, 1995).

⁴⁵ "OLTA Offers Carver Implementation through ASM Consultants," *InsideOLA* no. 28 (Oct.-Dec 1993): 16.

assuring executive performance, boards could address the accountability issue directly. The emphasis on policy formation was useful process for many boards, but many board members were elected politicians and some appointees disagreed with restrictions imposed by policy governance. One Windsor member openly criticized its adoption: "The board has an obligation to seek information from any source it sees fit." Despite these objections, Windsor trustees remained supportive of the policy governance methods and the Carver model continued to be a popular exercise. ⁴⁷

On balance, despite doubts on accountability and the impact of large-scale restructuring exercises, the concept of library trusteeship stood up r emarkable well in Ontario's rapidly evolving political culture. Trustees promoted civic engagement in many ways at a time when political commentators lamented a 'democratic deficit' in modern western societies. Indeed, trustees themselves offered the example of a heightened collective sense of responsibility by participating actively in local government and their communities. In a complex system of public management, indirect representation presents a compromise between direct participation and political solutions that are not subject to recall by local electors.

Strategic Planning in Ontario: 'One Place to Look'

By the second half of the 1980s, it was apparent that the LCIB would no longer be a primary agent of leadership for public libraries. The demise of the advisory Ontario Public Library Council during the Programme Review without an adequate legislative substitute now seemed an obstacle to province-wide planning. For many years, librarians and trustees had looked to briefs, regulations, and legislative provisions to define the library's role and functions. Now, after the 1984 Act, they had to seek other 'ways and means.' In the era of less government, libraries would have to formulate and agree on their future. A small planning group came together in mid-1988 to develop Ontario's first strategic plan for library service in partnership with the OLA and the Ministry of Culture and Communications. A year-and-a-half was set aside for a task group to meld technology, administration, funding, marketing, and cooperative linkages between libraries into a plan. Trustees actively participated in the process, notably Margaret Andrewes, who became coordinator for the Ontario Public Library Strategic Plan exercise. As She had previous experience as a trustee in Lincoln (1980-91) and served as President

⁴⁶ Chris Hornsey, "Library Policies Assailed," Windsor Star September 9, 2004, A3.

⁴⁷ For example, see *Windsor Public Library Board Policies; Developed: July 22, 1995 Policy Governance*® *Workshop Approved: October 11, 1995* (Windsor: the Library, 1995).

⁴⁸ Margaret Andrewes, "Ontario Libraries Start Strategic Plan Process," *Feliciter* 34 (July/Aug. 1988): 6.

of OLTA in 1986-87. Later, she became President of the Canadian Library Trustees' Association (1989-91) and President of CLA in 1992-93.

The Ontario library community already was acquainted with strategic planning. Many remembered the OPLPR process than had occurred in 1980-82. This time, however, legislative provisions might not to be the primary outcome. There would be well-thought recommendations but many partners to persuade at the end of the process. The Strategic Planning Group (SPG) began its process by developing a mission statement. For months, the SPG attended meetings to outline the process and gather information on areas of major interest. Finally, in spring 1990, a preliminary plan was distributed for comments, then, the SPG, issued a final document, *One Place to Look*, in time for the November 1990 OLA Toronto conference.⁴⁹

A number of themes in *One Place to Look* were familiar. Purposeful prose about "access to the right information, at the right time" set the stage for major change. The cornerstones for progress would be four goals, each with basic objectives and several recommendations. It was a plan with a purpose and a course of action to get there, a collaborative approach that would give all participants a common cause and direction. Its four fundamental goals were:

- 1. every Ontarian will have access to the information resources within the province through an integrated system of partnerships among all types of information providers;
- 2. every Ontarian will receive public library service that is accurate, timely and responsive to individual and community needs;
- 3. every Ontarian will receive public library service that meets recognized levels of excellence, from trained and service-oriented staff, governed by responsible trustees;
- 4. every Ontarian will have access to the resources and services of all public libraries without barriers or charges. ⁵⁰

One Place to Look was a progressive vision that sought to situate libraries on "the crest of the information wave" sweeping the globe. But it required two key structures for successful implementation. First, a cen tral office to coordinate and manage an integrated provincial network; second, a strategic planning group with representation from all library organizations to advise and recommend policy to the coordinating body based on a greement in the wider community.

⁴⁹Jami Van Haaften, "Ontario Group Begins Plan," *Feliciter* 35 (July/Aug. 1989): 19; and "Ontario Strategic Planning Group Sets Goals," *Quill & Quire* 56 (July 1990): 31.

⁵⁰ One Place to Look: The Ontario Public Library Strategic Plan (Toronto: Ministry of Culture and Communications, 1990), 13.

For strategic planners, the lack of government continuity plus absence of a coordinating body at the provincial level was a major impediment. One promising development was formation of an Ontario Public Libraries Strategic Directions Council (SDC) that began working after 1992 on marketing, telecommunications, and revision of the strategic plan. The group consisted of representatives from all library sectors. But, lacking a central coordinating agency during a time of government restructuring and cutbacks, many of the objectives in *One Place to Look* were not achieved. After a few years, in 1996, the SDC released a lengthy statement with several recommendations to further progress.⁵¹ Two proposals included guidelines for accrediting libraries and a project to help libraries document their social and economic contribution to communities. The resurgence of guidelines, a term used to replace the pejorative 'standards' that had been in eclipse for two decades, was somewhat surprising. In northern Ontario and smaller southern rural areas where tax bases lagged behind urban communities, the use of standards had been advocated since their development by CLA in the 1950s with some success. 52 In 1997, the first SDC guidelines were published and accreditation of smaller libraries begun.⁵³ In the following year, a manual to examine the library's impact on a community was released. Subsequently, it was used in case studies across Ontario. 54 Both projects proved to be popular. They were updated regularly for use in a variety of communities including larger ones in Barrie, Middlesex County, and Thunder Bay. 55 In municipalities, the Ontario Municipal Benchmarking Initiative began to track library outputs in 2005 in an effort to measure and compare performance data and operational practices in large communities. Establishing 'acceptable levels' of performance—often based on average or median scores—and acknowledging trends were major outcomes of this exercise.

After some successes, and its incorporation in 1998, the SDC recommenced a new strategic planning exercise on a provincial scale through a participatory structure that involved a core management team, issue teams, and review groups. The management team had three trustees as members in a group of just more than dozen people. In all, more than 220 trustees, staff and administrators were actively engaged in the production of its final report, *Building*

⁵¹ Strategic Directions Council, *A Call to Action: Specific Initiatives to Advance Public Library Development in Ontario* (Toronto: the Council, 1996).

⁵² Canadian Library Association, "Standards of Service for Public Libraries in Canada, *Ontario Library Review* 41 (Nov. 1957): 264-68.

⁵³ Ontario Public Library Guidelines: A Developmental Tool for Small, Medium and County Libraries (Sudbury: OLS-N, 1997).

⁵⁴ The Library's Contribution to Your Community (Gloucester, Ont.: SOLS, 1998).

⁵⁵ Adele Kostiak, "Valuing Your Public Library: The Experience of the Barrie Public Library, Ontario, Canada," *Bottom Line: Managing Library Finances* 15, no. 4 (2002): 159-62; and Elsie Cole and Margaret Rule, "Public Libraries and Accreditation: What is it, Who does it, What does being Accredited do for Your Community?" *Municipal World* 118 (Aug. 2008): 25-6.

Value Together: a Vision for Change for Ontario Public Libraries, in 2002. As it turned out, the report was more about a scheme for change than a blueprint for the future. It identified the creation of a single coordinating agency called the 'Ontario Public Library' as the most effective way to supply libraries with the collective capacity to continue playing a central role in community life. The report stated that "The Ontario Public Library is the critical strategy for public libraries in the next decade. To be successful, it must have the support, resources, and authority to effectively implement province-wide initiatives for enhanced public library service." These initiatives included five major activities as follows: ⁵⁶

- recognition of the diversity of the types of public libraries and their different constituencies;
- strengthening local services through commitment to public library standards to improve equitable access to information and services;
- support for libraries to implement standards and garner local support to improve their services in the short and long terms;
- development of a responsive membership-driven organization open to public libraries that meet their level of standard; and
- achievement of diversified, stable funding for the Ontario Public Library.

However, the chance of creating an 'Ontario Public Library' as a government agency was much like the concept of establishing a Provincial Library in the 1950s—slim indeed. Instead, the SDC looked toward developing a permanent organization of stakeholders, including trustees, on a federation basis to coordinate actions.

Three years later, in 2005, the Federation of Ontario Public Libraries formed, a voluntary non-profit organization geared to reenergize the public library sector and to serve as 'One Voice for Ontario Public Libraries.' Initially, The Federation's strategic focus included advocacy, research and development, marketing, and consortia purchasing. Library boards were the only organizations authorized to join and after a board became a member, its staff could participate in FOPL initiatives. The Federation offered the possibility for trustees to rely on a provincial organization to help synthesize the complexity of library development after the mid-1990s when new collaborative entities formed outside the familiar community or regional surroundings, groups such as:

• COOL: Consortium of Ontario Libraries formed in July 1998 with membership from university, college, school, and public libraries to develop purchasing agreements for a variety of electronic products;

⁵⁶ Building Value Together: A Strategy for Change for Ontario Public Libraries (Toronto: SDC, 2002), 22.

- INFO: Information Network for Ontario for interlibrary loan (originally produced on CDROM) that became a web-based resource sharing network for Ontario public libraries after 2000; and
- SOLS POOLS: a mechanism to share resources on a rotating basis by cooperative buying of large print books, videos, talking books, multilingual books and videos that rotate to member libraries.

FOPL quickly reached more than one hundred member library systems grouped into seven caucuses that were represented on the FOPL board. The Federation's work was not made easier when the Ministry of Culture eliminated its small library services unit (Heritage and Libraries branch) altogether in 2007, thereby making it more difficult to generate awareness about the role of public libraries in broader provincial strategies that might be developed through the system of ministries. In 2010, the culture portfolio was reorganized by a merger into the Ministry of Tourism and Culture. After two decades of interaction with stakeholders, strategic planning had produced many reports and scored several successes even if many major goals set forth in the early 1990s remained elusive.

New Legal and Employment Responsibilities

Although Ontario libraries had begun in earnest to protect intellectual freedom and adopt a more liberal public service philosophy after 1963, by the late 1980s they were finding it necessary to safeguard rights and freedoms beyond their traditional sphere. Changes came at both the federal and provincial levels on issues of obscenity, copyright, pay equity legislation, and freedom of information. From time to time, censorship issues involving legal restrictions continued to impose their presence in familiar and unusual ways. As well, with the growth of government regulation at all levels, board agendas began more frequently to include issues on health and safety, privacy, children's rights, accessibility, mandatory retirement, and other matters that new legislative requirements mandated.

In May 1987, the federal government introduced Bill C-54 amendments to the criminal code and the customs tariff to replace the existing standard of obscenity. The proposed bill attempted to tier offences and to apply the severity of punishment depending on the nature of the crime. Serious punishments were proposed for offences applied to visual matter—child pornography, pornography showing physical harm in a sexual context, sexually violent pornography, degrading pornography, and 'simple' pornography. According to the government, all these offences, except child pornography and pornography showing physical harm, would still allow a defense based on artistic merit or scientific, medical, or educational purposes. Some opponents of Bill C-54 claimed it was a threat to civil liberties, an overreaction that potentially could be applied against persons distributing or selling sexually explicit materials. From the

library standpoint, because many items in collections might fall under the provisions of C-54, the Association of Library Boards of Ontario commissioned a study to determine the consequences that might ensure if the proposed bill became law and libraries had to comply with its complexities on a daily basis.⁵⁷

Despite some assurances from the federal Justice Minister that C-54 did not target library collections, Toronto Public Library announced a plan to close most of its branches for a short time at the end of the year. TPL said the closure would allow time to educate its staff on C-54's potential dangers. The director, Les Fowlie, said "the bill's effect will exceed the Government intent, and that a book such as Marian Engel's Bear, would be proscribed." *Bear*, which had won a Governor-General Award, was the erotic story of an intimate relationship between a librarian and a bear (Engel had served as a Toronto trustee from 1975-78). ⁵⁸ Most observers, including the *Globe and Mail* editors on 20 November, sided with civil libertarians and TPL.

It is unlikely that police offices will raid local libraries to seize texts that technically violate the law, but there is a real danger that zealots will press charges privately, trying to force their standards on the community. Despite the slim chance of conviction, the stiff penalties will make librarians nervous and could lead to a regrettable self-censorship in purchasing and roping-off of existing books. ⁵⁹

Toronto closed twenty-eight of its branches for one day in December 1987 and hosted critics who ridiculed C-54's potential consequences with references to Vladimir Nabokov's nymphet motif in *Lolita* (1955) and Ayn Rand's sexual violence in *The Fountainhead* (1943). "Librarians object to the proposed law because it infringes on intellectual freedom, promotes self-censorship and puts those who are charged under the law in a position of being guilty until proven innocent, said Toronto public library board chairman Sheryl Taylor-Munro." Toronto's deliberate closure was a short, important part of the opposition that ensured that Bill C-54 did become law through Canada's Parliament.

While obscenity and pornography could become critical questions, to some, political correctness (avoiding expressions or actions perceived to exclude, marginalize, or insult groups

⁵⁷ Sam Coghlan, *The Library in Criminal Jeopardy: A Critique of Bill C-54* (London, Ont.: ALBO, 1987).

⁵⁸ Sean Fine, "Libraries Plan Protest against Proposed Bill," *Globe and Mail*, November 17, 1987, A15; and Donn Downey, "Library Doors Closed As Porn Bill Ridiculed," *Globe and Mail*, December 11, 1987, D18. For Fowlie, see Donn Downey, "Librarian Fought against Censorship," *Globe and Mail*, May 14, 1999, A.23.

⁵⁹ "The Threat," Globe and Mail, November 20, 1987, A6.

⁶⁰ Dana Flavelle, "28 Libraries Close as Staff Protests Federal Porn Bill," *Toronto Star*, December 11, 1987, A5.

or individuals) was becoming an equally serious challenge. It could apply to many authors, parts of selection policies, or an entire body of literature, not just individual works. 61 In 1993, Roald Dahl's popular children's books suffered this fate at one Toronto branch. Although he was known for his insistence to push the boundaries of 'good taste,' TPL did, in fact, keep a few of Dahl's books at some (but not all) branches. 62 At Orillia, natives mounted an unsuccessful challenge to a few books by W.P. Kinsella. After the board declared the books would remain in circulation, a challenger remained critical: "I couldn't expect anything less from an all-white board."63 When two Hamilton aldermen challenged the need to have XTRA!, a free Toronto gay and lesbian magazine, displayed inside the central library, the board chairman, John Syko, wrote in an editorial letter, "unless material truly is obscene, by law, not by the opinion of two politicians, then it belongs in our library and will be removed only when it breaks our laws."64 While political correctness could pose problems, it pointed to a traditional library practice in materials selection. Self-censorship continued to rear its head on a sporadic basis despite the adoption of provincial or national statements and implementation of local collection policies. Madonna's Sex (1992) caused a flurry when many libraries refused to buy it; for example, Scarborough trustees decided not to purchase the book at a public meeting. 65 Many libraries were disinclined to purchase the violence riddled American Psycho (1991). 66 An important 1995 Canadian study concluded, "vocal members of the community are not silenced, but, in the majority of cases, the staff uphold the public mandate of their institutions to safeguard freedom of expression for all members of the community."67 Often, public libraries looked forward to the annual 'Freedom to Read Week' each winter to raise public awareness about the difference between censorship, critical awareness, and community values.⁶⁸

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⁶¹Leslie Fowlie, "Freedom to Read in the Nineties," *Canadian Library Journal* 49 (Feb. 1992): 9-11.

⁶² Catherine Gildiner, "Banning Books at the Library," *Globe and Mail*, May 6, 1993, A26; and "Could Not Get Book," *Globe and Mail*, May 26, 1993, A20

⁶³ "Field of Dreams Author Beats Ban," *Toronto Star*, October 21, 1993, A3.

⁶⁴ John Skyo, "It is not the Library's Function to Censor Questionable Material but to Defend Access to It," *Hamilton Spectator*, August 8, 1994, A9. He was replying to a report by Jim Polling, "Lesbian, Gay Magazine Draws Fire," *Hamilton Spectator*, July 18, 1994, B3.

^{65 &}quot;Scarborough Library Board Says Nay to Sex," Globe and Mail, January 15, 1993, C 6.

⁶⁶ Joyce MacPhee, "Two Libraries and a Controversial Book," *Feliciter* 42 (Jan. 1996): 32-33 [Burlington and St. Catharines]; and Ann Curry, "American Psycho: A Collection Management Survey in Canadian Public Libraries," *Library & Information Science Research* 16 (Summer 1994): 201-17.

⁶⁷ Alvin M. Schrader, Fear of Words: Censorship and the Public Libraries of Canada (Ottawa: CLA, 1995), 116.

⁶⁸ For example at Burlington: Katrina Simmons, "Freedom to Read worth Protecting," *Hamilton Spectator*, February 26, 2003, N1.

A second piece of federal legislation on copyright, a long dormant legal subject, also came under revision in 1988. Bill C-60, An Act to Amend the Copyright Act, drew the ire of many librarians and trustees when the federal Minister of Communications, Flora MacDonald, surprised everyone by categorizing library photocopying as "theft." ⁶⁹ Many authors considered libraries to be infringing on their intellectual property rights by allowing unrestricted copying. Bill C-60's passage would authorize formation of a copyright collective to license and distribute payments to authors. Libraries of all types across the country worried about the scale of payment and the impact on budgets. To support counter-claims on the magnitude of copying in libraries, a nation study was conducted on copying and OLA vigorously lobbied the government to delay passage of C-60 and allow certain exemptions. However, Parliament gave third reading to the bill in June 1988. 70 The government promised a second phase of copyright reform, one that would define exceptions for user communities distributing publications for the public good. For libraries of all types, the second stage was essential because it included 'fair dealing,' i.e., copying a portion of a work for the purpose of research or private study. OLA would be watchful on this issue throughout the next decade when a definition for fair dealing finally came into effect in 1997.

During 1987 and 1988 libraries also had to contend with the implications of two major provincial reforms, one on pay equity and the other on freedom of information. The concept of equal pay for equal work became a contentious issue between employers and unions for more than a decade after Queen's Park passed pay equity legislation, Bill 154, to take effect in 1988. This act established the Ontario Pay Equity Commission to begin the process of eliminating gender discrimination in wage settlements in the private and public sector. Jobs had to be classified and ranked on the basis of skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions. If a male-dominated class and a female-dominated class were determined to be of equal value but different in wage structure, the employer had to develop a pay equity plan by 1990. The OLA endorsed pay equity with a brief in March 1987 by underscoring that library work was traditionally female-dominated and supporting that idea of "equal pay for work of equal value." Of course, municipalities would have to increase library board revenue to meet the provisions of pay equity after evaluators conducted comparisons and established raises in pay scales.

⁶⁹ Flora MacDonald, "Theft is Theft," Focus (OLA) 13, no. 3 (Summer 1988): 20-25.

⁷⁰ Françoise Hébert, *Photocopying in Canadian Libraries: Report of a National Study* (Ottawa: CLA and ASTED, 1987); and "OLA Takes the Lead: Bill C-60 Amendments Proposed," *Feliciter* 33 (Dec. 1987): 2 and 7.

⁷¹ See *Inside OLA Supplement on Pay Equity*, no. 1 (Summer 1989); and Roma Harris, *Pay Equity in Predominantly Female Establishments: The Library Sector* (Toronto: Ontario Pay Equity Commission, Sept. 1988), 24-30.

Pay equity would take years to implement—negotiated settlements would continue well into the next century. The major obstacle was determining if the employer was the library board or the municipality. Because libraries were female-dominated, male comparator groups normally could not be used; thus, library bargaining representatives preferred to designate municipal authorities as employers. Some boards rejected the comparator groups suggested through collective bargaining. Nepean's board directed the union local to the provincial pay equity commissioner to rule on its request for wage parity with city engineers in 1989.⁷² Other union locals made progressive increases, for example at North York where establishing job groupings was an issue.

"We're committed to the pay-equity legislation," says Library Board Chairman Morris Zbar. "But we suggest that instead of a quick cash settlement we make an objective evaluation of all those positions so that it is done fairly."⁷³

Three years later, North York reached agreement with its union to distribute about \$860,000 over five years to its employees. ⁷⁴ The impact on libraries was substantial. A 1993 survey found that budgets had risen on average by seven percent; however, some municipalities did not finance equity adjustments, thus boards had to transfer funds from other operating lines or cutback to balance budgets. Many libraries were not able to post a pay equity plan until legislation was amended in 1993 because they were unable to find male comparator groups. ⁷⁵

In the same period, in 1988, Ontario's *Freedom of Information and Protection of Individual Privacy Act* came into effect. Freedom of information was for many a grey area, a concept that citizens had a right to have access to provincial government information with certain exceptions, such as personal particulars. If knowledge was power, then citizens had a right to share information with government and to ensure their own personal information was private. FOI legislation had a long gestation dating to the 1970s, and, in the ensuring decade, of course, emphasis came to rest with unpublished documents and computerized records. The 1988 act set down definitions and a method of access to information and an appeal process and laid the foundation for extension of FOI to other government levels beyond Queen's Park.

Public libraries officially came under FOI when the *Municipal Freedom of Information* and *Protection of Privacy Act* took effect in 1991.⁷⁶ For libraries, it meant they could not collect personal information unless the Act authorized the compilation or it was necessary for the proper

⁷² "Librarians Won't Get Parity with Engineers," Ottawa Citizen, July 17, 1989, C2.

⁷³ Stephen White, "North York Library Workers May Walk," *Toronto Star*, October 6, 1987, N1.

⁷⁴ "North York Public Library Reaches Pay Equity Agreement," *Toronto Star*, May 10, 1990, N6 Roma M. Harris, "Public Libraries and Municipalities in Ontario: the Impact of Pay Equity,"

Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science 19 (July 1994): 40-57.

⁷⁶ "Ontario Freedom of Information Act Includes Public Library Boards," *Feliciter* 37 (Feb. 1991): 9.

administration of the library's activity. Collection of personal data required consent by the individual and notices for surveillance were necessary to alert visitors. There were administrative safeguards in the 1991 legislation based on decisions related to proper functioning of the library; but, there was also the possibility that records related to personal reading habits might be disclosed accidentally or surrendered to Canadian legal authorities for law enforcement purposes. Although boards had to ensure that posting information about collection of private data was adequate to comply with legislation, a recent study discovered that many Ontario public libraries failed to inform users adequately about their rights after almost twenty years of observation.⁷⁷

Generally, in the post-1985 era after the adoption of the *Public Libraries Act*, 1984, the engagement of libraries with federal and provincial statutes—successful and unsuccessful—indicated that they had a formal role in the protection and promotion of the rights and well-being of citizens and staff. In some cases, such as the elimination of mandatory retirement for board employees, the process was relatively straightforward. Accurate and timely knowledge of legal issues was becoming more complex and spreading to many more legislative provisions beyond the *Public Libraries Act*, which on occasion needed minor revisions to keep it up-to-date with other legislative initiatives.

Rapid Advances in Information Technology

By the early 1980s, libraries began introducing computerized systems that held the optimistic promise of a universal 'Electronic Library,' akin to Marshall McLuhan's thought-provoking 'Gutenberg Galaxy'—a world connected by electronic media, not a print-oriented Alexandrian Library, but rather "a computer, an electronic brain." Commentators and experts, such as Bernard A. Ostry, a deputy minister at federal and provincial levels, spoke at library conferences about telecommunications policy saying, "what's coming is a Canadian Electronic Highway Network." McLuhan and Ostry were familiar with simpler digital transmission based on Braille, telephones, transistors, and mainframe computers, but after 1980 pe rsonal home computers, mobile cellular phones, and the Internet, revolutionized contemporary life. In libraries, online catalogues, inter-lending via telecommunications, and online database searching became more commonplace. The swift emergence by 1995 of the 'Information Highway' offered

⁷⁷ Jacquelyn Burkell and Robert Carey, "Personal Information and the Public Library: Compliance with Fair Information Practice Principles," *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science* 35 (March 2011): 1-16.

⁷⁸ Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press; 1962), 32.

⁷⁹ Bernard Ostry, "The Wiring of Canada; a Danger, a Challenge, a Certainty," *Focus (OLA)* 5 (Aug. 1979): 3.

vast quantities of information that dwarfed local, provincial, even national library resources. It included computer networks, electronic mail, data, fiber-optic cable television systems, the World Wide Web, Gopher searching, newsgroups, bulletin board systems, relay chat, and many other interactive features. Now it was possible for people at home to dial-up access and view or interact with multimedia resources on 'the Web.' The sheer increase in the quantity of information movement offered a challenge to Ontario's strategic library planners who wanted to position libraries to cope with this 'revolution.' Because print centrality was lessened in a digital environment, with every passing year it would become more important to identify and evaluate digital forms of information in order to provide meaningful, balanced collections for public consumption. ⁸⁰

Even though *One Place to Look* had been conceived shortly before the Internet's rapid development, it had contemplated that embryonic regional clusters might become part of a larger 'information grid.' Some Ontario library groupings were already in existence in the early 1990s: 'Halinet' (Burlington, Halton Hills, Milton, and Oakville), 'Multicat' (Toronto area libraries); and the 'Ontario Library Consortium' (15 counties and one municipal library, Owen Sound). They were early adopters of email, digital resources, catalogues, and databases to enhance their services. ⁸¹ With the development of regional community based 'Free-nets' to provide public access for resources (e.g., personal and business email, chat groups, bulletin board systems, Usenet newsgroups on a multitude of subjects) through dialup protocols, libraries began to add their catalogues to these services. The federal government became vitally interested in the development of information technology at an early stage. ⁸² In 1993, Industry Canada began funding for 'SchoolNet,' a program to connect schools and classrooms to the Internet with educational content.

Three years later, a similar program, 'LibraryNet,' was initiated for linkage of all public libraries. The publication of Industry Canada's report on future digital directions pointed to the usefulness (and problems) that libraries presented in the national digital environment:

Publicly funded libraries represent an essential community information resource, with staff experienced in imparting the skills needed to access information in print or electronic form. Public access sites located in libraries constitute a key

⁸⁰ See further, Lorne D. Bruce, "Building Canadian Electronic Libraries: The Experience in Ontario Public Libraries, 1960-2010," in Ravindra N. Sharma, ed., *Libraries in the Early 21st Century; An International Perspective*, vol. 1, 91-104 (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur, 2012).

⁸¹ "The Power of Partnerships: Library Co-Operation and Innovation in Halton," *Feliciter* 40 (Oct.1994): 49-52; and Advanced Strategic Management Consultants, *The 'Connected' Public Library: A New Vision for the Ontario Library Consortium (OLC)* (Ottawa: ASM, 1996), 8-15.

⁸² David Mattison, "Librarians and the Free-Net Movement," *Computers in Libraries*, 14 (May 1994): 46-50,52

instrument in bringing digital literacy to the large numbers of Canadians who do not own a computer and lack Internet access. However, there are obstacles. Most notably, libraries at present face static or declining budgets, even though use of their facilities is increasing.⁸³

The federal government's Community Access Program (CAP) began to assist rural Canadians without access to the Internet and subsequently it launched a broader policy, 'Connecting Canadians.' One of the aims of these programs was elimination of a 'digital divide' by permitting access to government services, encouraging online learning, and fostering an infrastructure to allow community-based groups to develop in virtual space.

Eventually, by 2000, more than 18,000 schools and libraries were on the Internet. A 2001 survey measured the success of the program for smaller libraries in Canadian county and regional systems: 93% of the respondents (64) reported some part of their system connected to 'the Net;' five others were in the process of connecting. Hypically, during this transition, a public library would first connect to the Internet through program-sponsored computers and eventually launch its own web site. Linkages and information technology infrastructure were crucial first steps that CAP policy funded. However, the creation and provision of content, information literacy activities, and community development was an important phase left to libraries to resource outside the CAP 'package.' The concepts underlying information literacy had along lineage in public libraries, stretching back to the 'reader service' programs of the Great Depression, but, with the funding restrictions associated with lean government services, many public libraries were reluctant to expand their service in this area. He in the Internet. A 2001 service of the Internet. A 2001 service of their system connected to cannot be a connected to the Internet of their system connected to their system connected to their system connected to their system connected to the Internet of their system connected to the Internet of their system connected to the Internet of their system connected to their system connected to their system connected to the Internet of

For many library boards, faced with reduced revenue sources after the 1991 recession, these programs were a boon. Federal and provincial funding greatly facilitated networking and Internet connectivity. The Internet also prompted new complexities involving intellectual freedom and censorship. These issues did not disappear from the agenda of library boards. After customs officials temporarily seized Salman Rushdie's book, *Satanic Verses*, in 1989 based on hate literature, OLA published a practical handbook on intellectual freedom to resist censorship. The Association also adopted a stronger version of its Statement on Intellectual Freedom in

⁸⁴ Ann Curry and Alison Curtis, "Connecting to the Internet: The Challenge for Canada's County and Regional Libraries," *Library & Information Science Research* 22 (2000): 77-103.

⁸³ Information Highway Advisory Council, *Preparing Canada for a Digital World: Final Report* (Ottawa: Industry Canada, 1997), recommendation 4.15.

Heidi Julien and Sandra Anderson, "The Public Library in 'Connecting Canadians," *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science*, 27 (Dec. 2003): 5-29; and Heidi Julien and Cameron Hoffman, "Canada's Public Libraries and Information Literacy Training," *Feliciter* 54, no. 2 (2008): 74-77.

1990.⁸⁶ It did not take long for trustees to realize problems that free flowing information might cause. When an Ontario court judge made a publication ban pertaining to the Karla Homolka trial in 1993, I ibraries with Internet access to foreign media, which continued to publish information on some aspects of the case, faced the prospect of screening databases or removing access.⁸⁷ In this case, though, most libraries were more concerned with the distribution of print library materials. It became essential for every board to adopt a policy for 'internet use.' Typically, these statements referred to illegal or unacceptable activities. They specified Criminal Code or internal sanctions that might result from breach of the policy on the part of users. They also often stated that parents were responsible for monitoring their children's Internet access.

Nonetheless, free access to computer terminals meant that users might allow innocent parties to view graphic images or objectionable text. Distribution of obscene materials with undue exploitation of sex, child pornography, or hate speech, was a federal criminal offense. Over the last part of the 1990s, trustees became all too familiar with terms such as 'due diligence,' filters, and 'front line' situations. In 1998, Burlington encountered a situation where a young girl inadvertently saw an image of a nude woman on a workstation. Burlington trustees sought legal advice and, eventually, they decided to filter about half the Internet terminals and identify workstations for users. The library continued to allow children access to all library resources, but stationed the filtered terminals closest to children's sections. Filtering programs to block materials deemed offensive and privacy screens became important policy issues for boards because many staff members were directly involved in observing public behaviour.

Assistance for boards came from two major sources, the OLA and CLA. In 1997, the Canadian Library Association issued its 'Statement on Internet Access' that encouraged libraries to offer access with the fewest possible restrictions. In the following year, Ontario Library Association updated its 'Statement on Intellectual Freedom:' "That it is the responsibility of libraries to maintain the right of intellectual freedom and to implement it consistently in the selection of books, periodicals, films, recordings, other materials, and in the provision of access to electronic sources of information, including access to the internet." CLA followed up its statement by creating a useful practical guide to resources on policy statements, legal issues,

⁸⁶ Intellectual Freedom Handbook (Toronto: OLA, 1990).

⁸⁷ "Homolka Publication Ban Raises Questions about Electronic Dissemination," *Feliciter* 40 (Jan 1994): 28-30.

⁸⁸ Derek Weiler, "To Filter or not to Filter? Burlington Library Seeks Legal Opinion," *Quill & Quire* 65 (March 1999): 13-14; and *Legal Opinion on Internet Access* (Toronto: OLA, 1998), 15-16 with accompanying documentation.

⁸⁹Ontario Library Association Statement on Intellectual Rights of the Individual, approved at OLA Annual General Meeting, November 7, 1998.

customer handouts, and public relations materials.⁹⁰ This popular publication was steered by a group that included the assistance of a Nova Scotia trustee. In the following years, most boards sought to maximize the right to access with institutional due diligence (i.e., use of measures to prevent and correct violations of the law) by posting warnings, installing privacy screens, and judicious use of filtering software on public workstations with Internet access.

Internet operational changes often presented difficulties at the board level. Ottawa introduced a use policy late in 2001 that allowed open access to all but 39 of 250 Internet terminals.⁹¹ Board members agreed that it was not the library's business to block pornography but authorized filtering programs for younger children for a limited number of workstations. Even so, a number of staff complained about unrestricted access to pornographic web sites over the course of 2002. Eventually the library union took up their protests: it grieved management inaction to control Internet usage by declaring management was creating a 'poisoned workplace' and thereby violating the rights of staff who were exposed to sexually explicit materials. After due consideration, the board (by a vote of 7-4) reaffirmed open access to most computer workstations in April 2003 with the proviso that privacy screens would be fixed on computers and training programs for staff introduced to ease concerns. But this decision ignited additional public protest about non-installation of more filters to protect children who were not being supervised by parents in library. As well, city council requested the board to reassess its policy. The board agreed to reconsider the matter at a special meeting. Just before the meeting, the library CEO requested board members not to speak with media until a decision was reached, a move that further inflamed the situation. Trustees, especially councillors, did not appreciate this restriction on their own viewpoints. 92 Finally, at the end of April 2003, the board reversed its previous position and ruled that children under the age of 16 must use filtered terminals. All 280 computers would be fitted with filtering software. Parents had the option to request unfiltered access for their children. 93

Changes in information technology were causing librarians and trustees to reflect on their basic principles: free access, intellectual freedom, public funding. Business terms came into frequent use in this changing environment: customers replaced users, CEOs replaced chief

⁹⁰ Net Safe; Net Smart: Managing & Communicating About the Internet in the Library (Ottawa: CLA, 2000).

⁹¹ See Mary Cavanagh, "Sensemaking a Public Library's Internet Policy Crisis," *Library* Management 36, no. 6/7 (2005): 351-60; and Gary Deane, "Public Libraries, Pornography, and the Damage Done: A Case Study," *Library Leadership & Management* 18 (winter 2004): 8-13.

⁹² Pauline Tam and Jason Grosse, "Trustees Defy Library Chief's Order to Keep Quiet on Net Porn Issue," *Ottawa Citizen*, April 29, 2003, F1.

⁹³ Elaine O'Connor, "Library Board OKs Net Filters for Children," *Ottawa Citizen*, May 1, 2003, D1.

librarians, and services described in value-added terminology with an entirely new vocabulary (e.g., 'free helpdesk support,' 'one stop shopping,' and 'dividends.') Obviously, the Internet's impact on public libraries was far-reaching after the mid-1990s. Newer technologies, such as the wireless smartphone, and new social media, e.g. Facebook and Twitter, would continue to revolutionize that way information was distributed and how the public could interact with other people and institutions. It was a challenging time with continuous new terminology to describe events. Although Library 2.0 was technically new when it became a common term about 2005, underlying its concepts lay traditional ideas about user-centered change, community participation, and adoption of new technologies. In 2005, the provincial government provided funding to implement a new province-wide framework, Knowledge Ontario. With funding of \$8,000,000, Knowledge Ontario expanded to include Our Ontario, Resource Ontario, Ask Ontario and Connect Ontario projects. 94 Technical infrastructure and broadband access remained important to achieving the long-term goal of equity of access via a full range of technology. Technological developments will continue to foster collaborative efforts. The potential for formal (not casual) multi-type library consortia bound together by technology and devoted to the promotion of digital content may continue. Legislation in the United States and Saskatchewan (1996), as well as concerted action in Alberta (1997) indicate the beneficial nature of this kind of organization.95 A similar step in Ontario would be a positive outcome for library users in different sectors—public, special, school, universities, and colleges.

Trustee and Board Development

Throughout the Programme Review and passage of the *Public Libraries Act, 1984*, the OLTA endeavoured to provide an effectual program for trustee development. 'Workshop in Library Leadership,' originally developed by the American Library Association in 1983, satisfied this purpose for a short time. WILL was a popular series across Ontario: it denoted a commitment to continuous education and a process to be proactive on issue. Continuous improvement became a laudable goal but, although OLTA strove to coordinate trustee development, there seemed to be many barriers, especially a lack of reliable information about Ontario trustees themselves! In an effort to develop an in-depth understanding of library trustees, OLTA commissioned an important study in 1987 to survey the province, the first trustworthy analysis ever undertaken in Ontario.

^{94 &}quot;It's a KNOCK OUT," Access (OLA) 13, no. 2 (Winter 2007): 36-38.

⁹⁵ Mary Land, "New Library Act Welcomed [Libraries Co-Operation Act]," *Quill & Quire* 62 (June 1996): 21; Hilary Crane, "What is the Alberta Library?" *Feliciter* 44 (Sept. 1998): 25, 25, and 31.

The extensive work and report by Coopers & Lybrand helped differentiate the characteristics and interests of trustees from the structure and activities of library boards. A summary profile of library trustees revealed:

Library trustees in Ontario have been serving for 1 to 5 years, were not interviewed by their municipal council or their school board before their appointment. They tend to serve smaller communities. They use the library regularly for their own personal use, they are not elected municipal or county council members, not have they ever been. They have also never been elected to a school board or legislature. They are long term residents of their community. They do not represent a contracting municipality. They were born English, or English ancestry and they still speak English most often at home. They come from no particular age group. Most are female with some post secondary education, in higher income groups and are retired, homemakers or in the school system. ⁹⁶

By and large, trustees believed they represented the views of their community and thought the public library was a vital constituent in their locales. Serving the community by encouraging new services or promoting older ones was regarded as a normal part of their position.

For boards, identified now as corporate entities with differing characteristics, the 1987 survey sifted through a variety of responses to generalize about the current state of affairs in terms of performance.

Written appraisals for the CEO are not prepared regularly. The Chairman's office is a one year term. Community needs studies are not undertaken. There is a poor relationship between the library board and the school board reflected as well by the non-existence of communications between library trustees and the school board. Boards in Ontario have a mission statement as well as developed goals, objectives and policies related to library services, personnel and/or administrative matters. Members are actively involved in the development or review of these goals, objectives and policies but the CEO and/or Board Chariman usually suggest the development of board policies. The Chariman of the Board presents the budget to elected officials which is first prepared by library staff with or without board members.⁹⁷

The trustee review concluded that boards were well-structured, set policies, and had a strong working relationship with librarians and CEOs. It also identified the need for more training, especially for evaluation of CEOs, and for better communication with municipal and school authorities.

⁹⁶ Ontario Library Trustees' Association, *The Ontario Library Trustee's Profile* (Toronto: Coopers & Lybrand Consulting Group, 1987, 12.

⁹⁷ OLTA, The Ontario Library Trustee's Profile, 15.

It was apparent from this survey and from personal observation by trustees, that they felt they were performing well but further education and training would be beneficial. 98 Better 'tools,' contemporary management jargon for resources to solve problems, were needed to train and keep trustees current on many issues. Starting in 1985 the OLTA began as eries of publications to create an 'Ontario Library Trustee's Kit.' This toolkit provided trustees with accurate information on legal issues, a handbook by Lorraine Williams, supplements on lobbying, and a publication on the budget process. But it was not until after the Ministry of Culture and Communications created the Southern Ontario Library Service (SOLS) and Northern Ontario Library Service (OLS-North) after April 1, 1989 as special operating agencies to replace the transitional OLS areas that long-term support for board development began. Both agencies offered support for a 'Library Trustee Development Program.' A Trustee Orientation Kit first appeared in 1991 as a SOLS publication, developed by staff from SOLS with assistance from OLS-N and the OLTA.99 From this time forward, OLS and OLS-N not only revised the publication but also issued a number of individual monographs and series that could be utilized. Trustee Tips appeared in 1992 and continued until 2005. Over the years, its issues featured many useful guides, for example: "From Hostility to Harmony: The Library Board and the Municipal Council" (1992); "Should Our Library Form a 'Friends of the Library' Group?" (1993-94); "Cultivating Your Friends" (1999); "Launching a Successful Community Partnership," (1997), and "Library Board and Municipal Council Collaboration" (2000).

Throughout the 1990s, trusteeship continued to be infused with new ideas and strengthened by new board development programs. At the local level, training for trustees continued in the OLA, SOLS, and OLS-N with less emphasis on orientation and more focus on corporate legal duties, community advocacy, policy formation, and delegation of management to CEOs. The first issue of the *Trustee 20/20* modules produced by SOLS for a short time announced the new focus, oversight and supervision: "the director is a member of the larger corporate entity: the board." Slowly, political action by trustees was giving way to lobbying, a functional method with its own internal processes. There were many facets to library board development including self-evaluation. Often, the SOLS program asked hard questions, e.g. "If a board is not adept at assessing its own skills, how can it govern the skills and performance of

⁹⁸ Lorraine M. Williams, "How do Public Library Trustees See Themselves?" *Canadian Library Journal* 48 (1991): 85-86.

⁹⁹ *Library Board Development Kit*, various editions, (Toronto: Southern Ontario Library Service, 1991-2010).

¹⁰⁰ "The Role of the Board: Responsibilities and Functions," Module no. 1, *Trustee 20/20* (Summer 1992), 5.

others?"¹⁰¹ Many observers recognized that feedback and evaluation skills were often at the end of a process and given less time for analysis in the busy world of trusteeship.

In terms of practice and advisory services, SOLS brought current issues to the attention of libraries and gauged their reactions though its system of Trustee Councils, originally five groupings patterned on the old OLS boards: Thames, Escarpment, Rideau, Trent, and Saugeen. These Trustee Councils offered regional groupings an opportunity to provide input or feedback on many matters, e.g., Y2K bug issues, governance, evaluation, funding, provincial strategic planning, legislation, and SOLS' own planning exercises. While the Councils met on a regular basis, not all local boards could contribute on a frequent basis in this information sharing mechanism. To further linkages, SOLS expanded the number of councils to eight after 2001 in order to lessen travel and offer more opportunities for people to participate across the province.

At a provincial level, a new Association of Library Boards emerged in 2003 when the OLTA, a division of OLA, approved this name to emphasize the change from the work of an individual trustee to board 'teamwork' in the community. ¹⁰² The change came at a time when a new cycle of strategic library planning began and many of the old antagonisms between councils and boards prior to Ontario's restructuring were smoothed over. The advent of OLA's Super Conference in Toronto in mid-winter after 1995 provided a focus for trustee education and action. In 2007, it provided the stage to launch ALBO's 'Leadership by Design' project. Once again, trustees were offered a renewed program to improve their management skills in order to lead successfully. ¹⁰³ Like its older predecessor, 'Workshop in Library Leadership,' the new program planned to develop resources for all library boards to expand their knowledge of governance roles and to strengthen their capacity as community development leaders. Libraries had long been active in their local communities and boards had an enviable tradition of service. For this reason, and many others, the prospects for twenty-first century Ontario library boards seem auspicious.

^{101 &}quot;How Well Have You Governed?" Trustee Tips (SOLS) no.21 (Dec. 2000): 2.

^{102 &}quot;Ontario Library Boards in the 21st Century," (*OLA*) Access, 9 (Fall 2002): 39-40; and "A New Trustee's Guide to the OLBA," *Inside OLBA* no. 12 (Spring 2004): 1 and 6.

^{103 &}quot;Leadership by Design," Inside OLBA, no. 19 (Winter 2006), 4

8. CONCLUSION

Library boards in Ontario were created more than a century ago as local agencies that would be representative, responsible, and locally controlled and financed. After 1945, the interaction between provincial and local governments escalated rapidly, the size and complexity of municipal operations expanded greatly, and political emphasis fell upon a countability to elected officials. Representative ideas held over from nineteenth-century local self-government were eclipsed. At the same time, the authority and powers trustees had traditionally possessed diminished gradually. Throughout this period, trustees were disinclined to make any major changes. This was so partly because change from within was difficult, and partly because voluntary, nonpartisan participation of citizens in local government remained popular at the grassroots. It was the challenge from municipal councils and, eventually, the provincial government's legislative preference that redefined political relationships by establishing boards as administrative entities accountable to councils. By the 1980s, many of the usual postwar features of library board governance had disappeared but the concept of board governance was reaffirmed in the 1984 legislation.

Efforts to involve the Province to a greater extent in library service led to varying administrative arrangements for libraries after World War II. The immediate modest postwar plans of the Department of Education gave way to regional library systems in the 1960s, which in turn were transformed into provincial service areas controlled and financed by the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. However, during four decades the political relationship between local boards and the Provincial civil service remained ill defined, a serious drawback considering the emphasis on planning after 1960. Most of the ideas put forward by the library community in Ontario, such as the concept of a Provincial Library or Provincial Library Board, were somewhat nebulous, or in the case of the regionals, not politically acceptable for many reasons. For its part, the Province vacillated for many years before adopting regional legislation, and then allowed matters to unfold without direction for some time. By 1985, provincial field offices had replaced the disparate regional structure, and a certain degree of coordination attained. With the growing interdependence of provincial and municipal services, management and administrative considerations moved to the fore in determining the shape of cooperative schemes. More and more, local decisions were determined by administrative prescriptions, not local political considerations.

As the cost of library service escalates, the emphasis on administrative efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of programs continues to increase. Consequently, public support for service becomes contingent on the ability of boards to communicate their activities and demonstrate results. In the provincial government, for example, the 1980s rationale was on 'management by results' and 'doing more with less.' Thus, it seems the influence of administrative values in the planning process will continue to increase at the expense of local (or regional) political options, ones that trustees have not agreed upon or placed high on their agenda. Knowledge of evaluation techniques, needs assessments, performance auditing, policy governance, etc., not only become valuable management procedures, but also help provide an aura of political accountability and responsiveness for boards in their communities. In the 1990s, as the provincial government and its bureaucratic apparatus moved toward its alternate service delivery model, the concept of treating citizens as 'customers' heightened the need to deliver excellent 'quality service' from all public institutions and eliminated provincial agencies involved with public library work in the cultural sector through recurring 'de-layering' exercises.²

As long as the attention in Ontario's political culture focuses on the question of responsibility, rather than representation, boards will have many occasions to call upon professional expertise and administrative procedures to help justify their activities. Already, in the mid-1980s, there were signs that trustees were adapting to the new political realities.

It is in great measure through you, the Trustee, that elected politicians are becoming more sensitive to the importance of the Public Library. Because you are politically appointed, you have a particular brand of persuasiveness when talking to politicians. Given this advantage, it is your responsibility to actively cultivate the acquaintance and support of municipal and provincial legislators.³

Nevertheless, enlarged municipal entities and ever-changing provincial ministries give rise to continual restructuring and re-examination of funding, processes for which libraries, trustees, and librarians are often ill suited to address cohesively. In a broad policy-legal setting where stakeholder engagement, sustainability, transparency, accountability, and equality issues (age, religion, gender, ethnicity, etc.) are constantly changing subjects, successful strategic planning based on local communities and regional perspectives is a difficult course of action. Even additional membership on boards by elected politicians often fails to secure closer ties to councils due to rivalries that exist on parent body.

¹ Ontario Management Board of Cabinet, *Managing by Results Handbook* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1984), 126 gives a condensed example for library service.

² Ontario Management Board of Cabinet, *Delayering: A Resource Kit* (Toronto: Management Board Secretariat, 1993).

³ Lorraine Williams, *The Ontario Library Trustee's Handbook* (Toronto: OLA, 1986), 21

The persuasive character trustees now possess was forged after 1945 in the debates that occurred concerning the value of special purpose bodies and the need for larger, cooperative units of library service. In this period, library tradition and authority gave way to changing assumptions, different methods, and the expectation of greater undertakings. Whether the newly formed political and administrative relationships that came into being after 1985 are more suitable or enduring than those constructed in the past will depend upon the resourcefulness of trustees and library boards.

TABLES

Table 1POPULATION SERVED BY LIBRARY BOARDS, 1945-2000

Year	Public Library Boards*	Total Ontario Population 000's	Population served by libraries 000's	Percent served
1945	198 (462)	4,000	2,561	64%
1950	214 (480)	4,471	2,919	65%
1955	251 (462)	5,266	3,597	68%
1960	292 (493)	6,111	4,178	68%
1965	288 (410)	6,788	5,303	78%
1970	333	7,551	6,667	88%
1975	463	8,320 (8,009)	7,937	95%
1980	545	8,746 (8,578)	8,524	97%
1985	412	9,295 (8,977)	8,934	96%
1990	407	10,296 (9,248)	9,154	89%
1995	406	10,950 (10,078)	9,996	91%
2000	304	11,683 (11,249)	10,824	93%

^{*} Total boards, including association libraries, in brackets to 1960. Co-operatives and regional systems excluded. Includes non-operating and contracting boards after 1970.

Provincial population totals compiled and revised by Statistics Canada. Provincially enumerated population totals in brackets, 1975-2000.

Population served by libraries calculated uses assessments by municipalities.

Sources: Ontario Library Review

Ontario Statistics

Ontario Public Library Statistics

Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Vital Statistics and CANSIM Series v2156 (1921-71)

and Series v12 (1951-present)

Table 2
FACTORS RELATING TO RESPONSIBILITY

Factor	RSO 1950 (mostly 1920 Act)	1966 Act	1984 Act
mode of appointment	 cities, towns & villages: shared by council and boards of education police villages and townships: by council school areas: by school boards library co-operative: by county council 	 communities over 10,000 population: shared by councils and both boards of education less than 10,000: by council counties: by county council 	all appointments by council. In communities of 10,000 or more, 3 members must be suggested by boards of education
term of office	3 or 2 years on rotating basis	3 or 2 years on rotating basis	3 years, concurrent with council
audits	done by municipal auditorsopen to inspection by Minister of Education	n/a	submitted to council
annual report	submit Departmental form to Minister of Education	reports to Minister according to regulation	submit to Minister
budgeting	submit estimates to council or school trustees before March 1st	submit to council before March 1st	Submit to council which may authorize variation
inspection of records	open for inspection by Minister or designate	any person may inspect records held by Secretary	n/a
conduct of meetings	n/a	n/a	open to public except intimate, financial or personal matters
dissolution	n/a	n/a	Minister may dissolve boards if library not operated for 2 years
disqualification of members	convicted of a criminal offence, mental illness, absent from 3 consecutive meetings, ceases to be a resident, accepts pecuniary interest, etc.	convicted of an indictable offence, mental illness, absent from 3 consecutive meetings, ceases to be a resident	convicted of an indictable offence, becomes incapacitated, absent from 3 consecutive meetings, ceases to be qualified

Table 3

COMPARATIVE DE JURE POWERS OF LOCAL BOARDS

	1966 Act	1984 Act
	egulations	
	 shall fix times and places for shall make provision for insur may appoint committees 	
 shall keep materials and equipment in a proper state may request judge to appoint janitors as constable 	• shall ensure library is conducted in accordance with Act and Regulations	 may conduct meeting in French or English meetings shall be open to public except for intimate financial or personal matters
 shall appoint Librarian, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint other officers and servants 	 shall appoint one or more librarians, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint or remove officers and servants shall take security for Secretary and Treasurer 	 shall appoint Chief Executive, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint or remove servants and officers shall take proper security for Treasurer
 may levy an annual amount to fulfill terms of contract entered into prior to 1917 may request council to raise money for site, 1 		• may request council to issue debentures for buildings, land, books, or other things for new library, subject to Ont. Municipal Bd. approval
 shall purchase books and may purchase equipment, newspapers, periodicals, magazines, other printed material, etc. may establish and maintain branches, reading rooms, distributing stations, art galleries, museums, binding bureaux, etc. shall provide necessary fuel, lighting, and other accommodations may affiliate with teachers', farmers', or women's institutes may enter into agreements for service 	 shall operate a main library may operate any number of branches, reading rooms, mobile units, art galleries, museums, and film or other special services may enter into agreements with boards, etc., for service may permit use for educational or other lawful purposes shall provide in co-operation 	
 residents shall have free access to circulating and reference books may prohibit free access to any particular section of building or class of books cannot establish age limit pertaining to children 	shall permit public free use of circulating and reference books and other services as practicable	shall not make charges to public for admission to or use of circulating materials of a prescribed class including reference or information as practicable may charge for use of building not in use as a public library
	* may make rules for use of library subject to residents shall have free access to circulating and reference books * may reflix for use of library subject to residents shall have free access to circulating and reference books * may prohibit free access to circulating and reference books * may prohibit free access to circulating and reference books * cannot establish age limit pertaining to children * may product to rules of library subject to residents and reference books * may request council to raise money for site, to require for library by an issue of debentures are shall purchase books and may purchase equipment, newspapers, periodicals, magazines, other printed material, etc. * may establish and maintain branches, reading rooms, distributing stations, art galleries, museums, binding bureaux, etc. * shall provide necessary fuel, lighting, and other accommodations * may affiliate with teachers', farmers', or women's institutes * may enter into agreements for service	 shall keep materials and equipment in a proper state may request judge to appoint janitors as constable shall appoint Librarian, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint other officers and servants may appoint one or more librarians, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint other officers and servants per capita rate specified may levy an annual amount to fulfill terms of contract entered into prior to 1917 may request council to raise money for site, buildings, books, or other things required for library by an issue of debentures and refer matter to electors shall uppoint one or more librarians, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint one or more librarians, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint one or more librarians, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint one or more librarians, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint one or more librarians, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint one or more librarians, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint one or more librarians, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint one or more librarians, Secretary and Treasurer may appoint or remove officers and servants shall take security for Secretary and Treasurer may appoint or remove officers and servants shall previate no or the things required for library by an issue of debentures and refer matter to electors shall operate a main library may operate any number of branches, reading rooms, mobile units, art galleries, museums, and film or other special services may enter into agreements with boards, etc., for service may permit use for educational or other lawful purposes shall provide in co-operation comprehensive and efficient lit shall permit public free use of circulating and reference books and of the reading pr

Table 4

LOCAL LIBRARY TAX REVENUE FROM MUNICIPAL SOURCES, 1945-1984

Year	Municipal Revenue 000's \$	Population served in 000's	Deflator 1971 = 100	Per Capita Revenue \$	Deflated Per Capita Revenue \$
1945	1,559	2,561	26.8	.61	2.28
1951	2,814	2,993	40.2	.94	2.34
1956	4,421	3,645	49.4	1.21	2.45
1961	8,231	4,412	59.1	1.87	3.16
1966	14,270	5,595	72.8	2.55	3.50
1971	33,474	6,861	100	4.88	4.88
1976	67,387	8,159	177.4	8.26	4.66
1981	126,794	8,533	295.6	14.86	5.03
1984	164,368	8,670	372.9	18.96	5.08

Sources: Dominion Bureau of Statistics and Statistics Canada, Survey of Libraries; Public Libraries in Canada; Historical Statistics of Canada (2nd ed.); and National Income and Expenditure Accounts

Ontario Ministry of Culture and Citizenship, Public Library Statistics 1984

Table 5
CITY TAX REVENUE FROM MUNICIPAL SOURCES IN 1971 AND 1984

City	Population	1 in 000's	Local Support Per Capita \$		Deflated Support in 1984 \$
	1971	1984	1971	1984	
Kitchener	110.6	141.4	5.83	20.49	5.50
Oshawa	90.1	118.8	6.57	15.45	4.14
St. Catharines	106	123.6	3.98	18.67	5.01
Windsor	198.3	192.5	4.25	20.99	5.63
Hamilton	301.5	308.1	4.96	27.58	7.40
London	216.7	266.3	7.06	19.01	5.10
Ottawa	285.4	303.1	4.25	23.34	6.26
Toronto	680.3	614.8	5.58	30.37	8.14

Sources: Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *Public Library Statistics 1984 Ontario Library Review*, December 1972

Table 6
PROVINCIAL LIBRARY GRANTS, 1945-1971

Year	Legislative Grants for Libraries in 000's \$	Total Dept. of Education Expenditure in 000's \$	Grant as a Percent of Expenditures
1945/46	65.3	30,779	0.21
1950/51	425.0	57,713	0.74
1955/56	864.9	100,141	0.86
1960/61	1,749.4	226,511	0.77
1965/66	3,249.8	416,853	0.78
1970/71	7,657.6	1,125,205	0.68
1971/72	8,499.3	1,224,740	0.69

Source: Ontario, Public Accounts (includes support for provincial library branch)

Table 7

SYSTEM FEATURES OF COORDINATION AND COOPERATION

System Criteria	Coordination	Cooperation
rules and agreements	more formalized	informal or on an ad hoc basis
goals and activities	collective agreement to maximize compatibility	realization of individual member priorities
member linkages	more extensive vertical or horizontal linkages	more restricted limited domain linkages
member resources	more resources committed usually with higher ranking personnel involved	relatively few resources committed with lower ranking personnel involved
autonomy	more threat to members	little threat to members
decisions	more centralized	decentralized

Adapted from David L. Rogers and David A. Whetten, *Interorganizational Coordination: Theory, Research and Implementation* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1982), 13.

Table 8REGIONALIZATION IN ONTARIO, 1954-1967

Regional Library Co-	Date	Regional Development	Date
Operatives and Systems	Established	Associations (Councils)	Established
Northwestern Ontario	1957	Northwestern Ontario	1955
Northeastern Ontario	1959	Northeastern Ontario	1955
North Central	1960		
Algonquin	1962		
Niagara	1963	Niagara	1957
Southwestern	1963	Lake St. Clair	1963
Lake Ontario	1964	Lake Ontario	1955
Midwestern	1964	Mid-Western	1956
Lake Erie	1964	Lake Erie	1963
Eastern Ontario	1965	Eastern Ontario	1954
Central Ontario	1965	Central Ontario	1966
South Central	1965		
Georgian Bay	1966	Georgian Bay	1955
Metropolitan Toronto	1967	-	

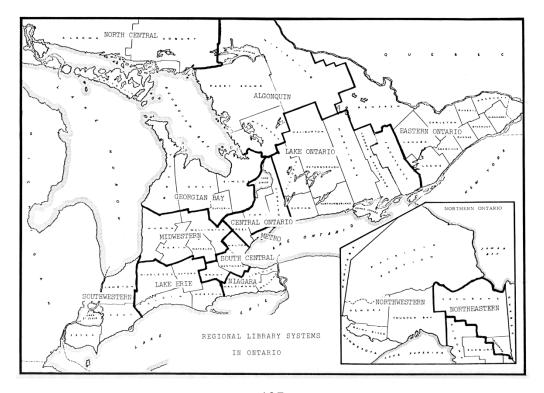


Table 9

COMPARATIVE LIBRARY ISSUES IN REGIONAL REVIEWS

Issue	Waterloo 1979	Hamilton-Wentworth 1978	Niagara 1976
board status	 integrate city library boards as municipal departments allow more council members on boards 	abolish boards and create advisory committees to report to Parks, Recreation and Culture Committee of Regional Council	 retain independent boards allow more councilors to serve on boards
school board appointments	eliminate	consult with school boards	retain
level of responsibility	independent lower and upper-tier boards	upper tier	lower tier
conditional grant	deconditionalize	n/a	retain present system
regional library system	n/a	existing cooperative arrangement appear to work well	 change name to Federated Library System allow regional councils to appoint members to Federated boards designate reference and resource centres and fund by the province

Sources: Report of the Waterloo Review Commission (Toronto, 1979), 222-224
Report of the Niagara Region Study Review Commission, 1975-1977 (Toronto, 1977), 54-57
Report of the Hamilton-Wentworth Review Commission (Toronto, 1978), 200-204

Table 10PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE GRANTS, 1975-1982

Year	Legislative Library Grants in 000's \$	Total MCR Expenditures in 000's \$	Grant as a Percent of Expenditure	CPI Change from Previous year (May to May)
1975/76	19,091.9	111,156.8	17.2	
1976/77	19,611.1	147,788.4	13.3	8.9%
1977/78	21,796.7	192,874.8	11.3	7.5%
1978/79	21,999.9	213,191.6	10.3	9.1%
1979/80	22,536.6	203,727.7	11.1	9.3%
1980/81	22,944.6	203,881.9	11.3	9.4%
1981/82	25,101.9	226,834.2	11.1	12.3%

Source: Ontario, *Public Accounts* (includes support for provincial library branch, regions, etc.)

Table 11

LOCAL AND REGIONAL LIBRARY ROLES

Level	Ontario Provincial Library Council 1970	MCC Green Paper 1982
local responsibility	 all aspects of community needs: educational recreational, and informational physical facilities staffing basic financial support for community services 	 provide resources for community needs in formal and informal education, informational needs, and cultural/leisure activities cooperate with other jurisdictions in planning and delivery of service ensure accessibility of service primary financial support for services
regional responsibility	 support for educational and informational programs professional assistance for local libraries and for planning or developing new services cooperative services: ILLO and centralized cataloguing, etc. specialized services: A-V services, foreign language collections, etc. educational programs based on provincial standards and regional requirements 	 delivery of programs and services for Ministry of Citizenship and Culture transportation system for delivery of materials, messages, etc. planning, management, and operation of ILLO service A-V service county library development advice and assistance for staff training and development coordination of cost sharing programs among libraries telecommunication links between libraries and intermediary level direct services in Northern Ontario: acquisitions, cataloguing, rotating collections, cultural programs, special collections, etc.

Sources: Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *A Foundation for the Future* (1982) "Positive Recommendations Regarding Public Libraries in Ontario," *Ontario Library Review* 54 (1970), 91-92.

Table 12 PROVINCIAL LIBRARY ROLES

Role	1950	1959/61	1978	1982
Advisory	 advise Minister on legislation and policy provide information for local libraries 	 advise Minister on legislation and policy help local libraries 	 advise Minister on legislation, grants and policy provide information for municipalities and libraries 	administration of legislation
Leadership	• promote establishment of free libraries and county co-operatives	 promote establishment of libraries in communities -provide leadership for county and regional libraries and cooperative efforts 	• provide leadership for province-wide planning and networking for effective use of resources • fund OPLC and act as its Secretary •assist DORLS committees	 management of regional systems encouraging planning for network development design, consultation, research, documentation, and coordination
Library Extension/Program Development	 provide travelling libraries for schools and small libraries 	 provide travelling libraries for schools and small libraries promote children's services 	assistance for book selection tools (e.g. Canadiana and children's books)	 assistance for Francophone, native, children's, and disable services library publicity and advertising to appropriate markets
Statistics	 collect and publish library statistics 	•collect and public library statistics	•collect and publish library statistics	• statistical analysis
Publications	Ontario LibraryReviewbook selection help	• OLR • forum for libraries	OLR and In Review	
Financial Administration	 administer grants and inspect records 	administer grantsenforce regulationsfor financial assistance	administer grants for libraries and regions	• financial administration of all grants
Departmental or Ministerial Coordination	 teachers' circulating library coordination in Dept. of Education 	 reference library for rural teachers small collection for Ontario College of Education 	• coordination with other Ministries: Outreach Ontario, Wintario, Ontario Arts Council, etc.	• governmental liaison
Educational Development	• promote library education and staff development by use of library institutes, courses at Univ. of Toronto, certification	 promote staff development through certification program, sponsorship of institutes develop lending collection on librarianship and libraries 	• promote staff development by workshops, seminars, and publications	

Sources: Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, A Foundation for the Future (1982)

Angus Mowat, The Public Library in Ontario (Toronto, Dept. of Education, 1950)

[&]quot;Role of the Provincial Library Service," *Ontario Library Review* 62 (1978): 4-8 "Provincial Library Service - What is it," *OLR* 45 (1961): 165-168.

[&]quot;Provincial Role in Library Education," OLR 43 (1959): 130-131.

Table 13
PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURES ON REGIONAL LIBRARIES, 1959-1981

Regional	Grants for Regional Libraries in 000's Dollars					
Systems	1959	1966	1971	1976	1981	
Algonquin		99	142	203	313	
Central Ontario		39	221	529	750	
Eastern Ontario		70	323	600	780	
Georgian Bay		32	117	286	369	
Lake Erie		42	167	259	371	
Lake Ontario		59	200	454	513	
Metro Toronto		_	738	1,376	1,685	
Midwestern		50	166	458	502	
Niagara		42	151	398	402	
North Central		108	139	442	604	
Northeastern	30	75	137	408	444	
Northwestern	37	121	216	474	655	
South Central		71	246	572	586	
Southwestern		49	179	380	412	
Totals	67	857	3,142	6,838	8,384	

Sources: Ontario Library Review, December issue

Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Public Library Statistics

Table 14ONTARIO CIRCULATION AND VOLUMES HELD, 1945-1984

Year	Population	Circ	ulation	Volumes Held		
	served in 000's	Total 000's	Per Capita	Total 000's	Per Capita	
1945	2,561	13,253	5.2	3,830	1.5	
1950	2,919	15,802	5.4	4,442	1.5	
1955	3,597	19,310	5.4	5,516	1.5	
1960	4,178	31,962	7.6	7,438	1.8	
1965	5,303	44,736	8.4	10,060	1.9	
1970	6,667	50,277	7.5	12.495	1.9	
1975	7,937	53,128	6.7	17,645	2.2	
1980	8,524	56,917	6.7	23,391	2.7	
1984	8,670	65,429	7.5	24,473	2.8	

Sources: Ontario Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education

Ontario Library Review

Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Public Library Statistics

Table 15

PUBLIC LIBRARY EXPENDITURE IN ONTARIO, 1945-1980

Population Year Served in		Total Library Expenditure*		Government Deflator	Deflated Expenditure	Deflated Percentage
	000's	000's \$	Per capita	1971=100	in \$	Change
1945	2,561	1,832	.72	26.8	2.69	-
1950	2,919	3,172	1.09	35.9	3.04	13.0
1955	3,597	5,219	1.45	46.2	3.14	3.3
1960	4,178	10,442	2.50	57.3	4.36	38.9
1965	5,303	17,888	3.37	68.2	4.94	13.3
1970	6,667	39,172	5.88	94.2	6.24	26.3
1975	7,937	80,979	10.20	155.5	6.56	5.1
1980	8,524	139,009	16.31	260.0	6.27	- 4.4

^{*} Does not include expenditures for provincial library agencies

Sources: Ontario Library Review Public Library Statistics

Dominion Bureau of Statistics/Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada* (2nd ed.), *Survey of Libraries*, and *National Income and Expenditure Accounts*

Table 16

ENROLMENT OF FULL-TIME UNDERGRADUATES
IN ONTARIO, 1931-1955

Subject	1931	1941	1950	1955	
Architecture	-	-	234	186	
Arts, Sciences,					
Letters and	5,387	5,408	11,083	7,480	
Philosophy					
Commerce	222	183	684	938	
Education	382	256	327	470	
Household Science	745	200	212	201	
Journalism	-	-	-	64	
Law	249	252	757	1,044	
Librarianship	28	15	49	43	
Music	-	-	-	100	
Nursing Degree	107	172	316	548	
Physical Health and Education	51	37	292	234	
Secretarial Science	-	-	-	79	
Social Work	70	68	115	140	
Theology (including graduates)	938	940	1,192	620	
Other	-	-		139	
Total	8,179	7,531	15,261	12,296	

Source: Canada, Submission of Ontario to the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, January 26, 1956 (Ottawa, 1956), p. 136.

Table 17 PUBLIC LIBRARY POSITIONS IN ONTARIO 1955 AND 1984

Libraries	Librarians*		Library Technicians	Library Boards		Population Served in 000's	
	1955	1984	1984	1955	1984	1955	1984
Free	478	-	-	252	-	3,374	-
Association	48	-	-	234	-	223	-
under 5,000 pop	-	5	7	-	215	-	408
pop 5,001 to 30,000	-	81	73	-	101	-	1,230
pop 30,001 to 100,000	-	190	136	-	29	-	1,678
pop 100,000+	_	645	257	-	16	_	4,199
counties & regions	0	160	34	16	27	-	906
Totals	526	1081	507	502	388	3,597	8,421**

Sources: Ontario Library Review

Ontario Public Library Statistics

^{* 1955} totals are for certificates of librarianship; 1984 for professional librarians ** An additional 248,125 people were serviced by contracts with 168 municipalities

Public Library Boards in Postwar Ontario



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